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Honble Charles Sumner  
from W. H. Fry  
REPUBLICAN "CAMPAIGN"

TEXT-BOOK,

FOR THE YEAR 1860.

BY

WILLIAM HENRY FRY.

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"The South now maintains that slavery is right, natural and necessary, and does not depend on difference of complexion. The laws of the Slave States justify the holding of white men in bondage."—*Richmond Enquirer, the leading Democratic journal.*

"When the measure of their tears is full; when their groans have involved heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of justice will listen to their distress."—*Jefferson's Correspondence.*

"Therefore thus saith the LORD, Ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor: behold I proclaim liberty for you, saith the LORD, to the sword, to the pestilence and to the famine; and I will make you to be removed unto all the kingdoms of the earth."—*Jeremiah xxxiv., 17.*

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# REPUBLICAN TEXT-BOOK.

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## CHAPTER I.

### POLITICAL PARTIES OF 1860.

THE main question of the Presidential contest has become, by the force of events, the extension of Slavery into the Territories, or its restriction within its present limits. There are four or five parties engaged in this canvass. The first, with Lincoln and Hamlin as candidates for President and Vice-President, seeks to restrict Slavery within its immediate bounds, and denies that it can be carried into the Territories by virtue of the Constitution. The second, being one wing of the so-called democratic party, with Breckinridge, a slave-owner, and Lane, a pro-slavery man, as candidates, aims to force Slavery into the Territories in spite of the Constitution. The third, the other wing of the latter party, with Douglas, a slave-owner, and Johnson, a slave-owner, tries to place Slavery in the Territories by means of a newly-devised method called "squatter sovereignty," or the denial of the right of Congress to legislate on the subject. The fourth calls itself the Union party, and practically ignores all domestic history since the adoption of the Constitution, thus leaving every great vital issue to take care of itself, irrespective of the new elements, moral and physical, in our national politics. This combination is simply in the slave interest, like journals which call themselves independent, impartial, or neutral; and as it has not put forth any declaration of principles, or "platform," it can only be judged

by its candidates, both of whom are advocates of Slavery: the one, Bell, being a slave-owner, and having supported Slavery in his speeches, as a time-sanctioned and necessary institution; and the other, Everett, having so exalted the buying and selling of human beings, and defrauding the laborer worthy of his hire, that he was sternly called to account on the floor of Congress by John Randolph of Virginia, a slave-owner, who said that, "He envied neither the head nor the heart of the man who defended Slavery on principle." The fifth is a kindred coagulation with the *non mi ricordo* Bell and Everett party: it has Houston, of Texas, a pro-slavery man, for candidate, but as yet has had no nomination through a national Convention.

The "platforms" of such of those parties as have framed them, will be found in their appropriate place in these pages.

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## CHAPTER II.

### GENERAL ARGUMENTS FOR SLAVERY CONSIDERED.

THE radical argument for the perpetuation of Slavery, white or black, and hence its extension into the Territories of the United States of North America is, that it has been practiced by civilized nations; and the example, especially of the republics, kingdoms and empires of antiquity, which always held to it, is pointed to as irrefragable testimony in its favor. If the act of emancipation by Great Britain, as well as other countries, be cited as evidence of growing humanity and a just apprehension of common rights, the advocates of the system stigmatize that as an ebullition of sentimental philanthropy not warranted by national experiences or the requirements of sound government. This reason for inflexibly spreading through a new western world the most ghastly wrong of modern civilization, is held by all the known clergymen, politicians, and writers of the South, excepting a few on the borders of some of the northern States, discussion there on the subject of liberty being now forbidden, under the heaviest penalties and most disgraceful punishments; and those

generally the extemporized ferocities of a mob dictating Lynch-law. The same views for consummate injustice are offered by a portion of the northern public, mixed in its character, comprising the dependents of the federal administration, many persons directly interested in the southern trade, and the least reflecting and the most vicious portion of society, the alliance sustained by a commercial press and a commercial pulpit. In the enunciation of these doctrines, which astound and bewilder all that is loving and lovely in our common nature, the political beliefs and sanctions which led us triumphantly through the agonies of a long war with the most powerful nation in Europe, are set aside as false and obsolete; equally so are the doctrines of the wise and good men who formed our Constitution and contributed to the strength and elasticity of the federated States. In a word, the religious and political faith of a free people is suspended through the greater portion of the United States, to uphold views which are born of atheism, as they deny the God of the poor and the humble, and unless changed, are precipitating national disaster, as the examples of the oppressor and the oppressed show in history, ancient and modern alike.

That a senator, of the eminence of Mr. Calhoun, had laboriously studied all the aspects of ancient bondage before he cited it habitually in arguments affirming Slavery to be right and proper in itself, and inseparable from national prosperity, would seem natural. That a person like Mr. Everett, who had considered "the humanities," and enjoyed the generous influences of classic learning, must have probed all the phenomena of the practice as it flourished in the old republics and empires, before he ventured to stake his reputation in its defence, in his maiden speech in the House of Representatives, seems also probable. That Mr. Bell, too, should have read attentively about Slavery in "Assyria, Greece and Rome," before he entered upon its defence, because of its existence in those defunct States, seems natural. And yet it is far, far more charitable to suppose that these political gentlemen—not to mention the tens of thousands of educated persons who openly coincide with them—have not read respecting ancient Slavery, and are ignorant of what they presumed to discuss, than to say that after having studied the system as it existed mildly and temporarily, under the Jewish Republic, and its

horrors under the Grecian and Roman States, they could deliberately bring their minds to commend it or urge the continuation of its worst form, in a land whose Declaration of Independence, and whose Constitution, were consecrated to freedom. Every cruelty which man can inflict on man belonged to the latter named ancient system, though the Justinian Code pronounced Slavery *contra naturam*—against nature—and eventually there were some ameliorating laws leading to emancipation upon the fall of the empire.

No better means can be devised to awaken public attention to, and secure public abhorrence for the system, to the extent that few will be bold enough to defend it, than an exposition of Ancient Slavery—of the Slavery of the Caucasian white man especially.

The primal Christian teachings found their force and triumph through the instincts of the masses, who felt that previous ethics and eloquence were cold in comparison with the scriptural words of divine tenderness addressed to the broken-hearted and oppressed. When the dark shadow of servitude was over the nations, and the day of civic festivity was a day of wrath to the slave, when mercy had become obsolete in the religion of the State, the ineffable love of the new-word, destined to carry healing to those in bonds, was made manifest. The essential spirit of Christianity enforces human emancipation and liberty: without this it would have sunk in the abyss which engulfed the Roman empire. Precisely because it struck at the base of wrong, made no compromises, was superior to the strange inventions of statemanship so-called, has it outlived the strongest politics and all the corruptions of an aggrandizing superstition. In the history of letters, accordingly, logic and rhetoric were never so dishonored as in the attempts to extract from the Christian ethical code, sanctions for the paradox, the falsehood, the meanness, and the cruelty, identified with the slave system. The whole drift of the Christian teachings is so clear and strong in favor of universal freedom, that it should be unnecessary here to cite special authorities therefor. These all are contained in the Golden Rule. Bondage, transient and assuaged as it was under the Judaical system, is habitually cited in connection with the pseudo-christian argument, in halls of legislation, and in pages and pulpits, prostituted to enforce the shames and sorrows of American Slavery: but in nothing is the

prophetic denunciation so terrible and blasting, portentous of national ruin, as in vindication of the rights of the lowly and the enslaved. The existence of Slavery among the most polished nation of antiquity, the Greek, and the most powerful, the Roman, sources to which our arts and letters are chiefly due, is preëminently urged, as we have seen, to prove that civilization and Slavery are inseparable, and men of recognized culture and statesmanship are ever found in the Senate and House of Representatives, as well as in journals and books, to defend Slavery, on that ground chiefly; but, nevertheless, up to this time, no picture of ancient Slavery has been afforded through the press in our political arguments to the extent due to the subject. Slavery, then, under the Jews before the period of the Cæsars, may well be reviewed; its connection with Christianity treated, and its phenomena in Greece and Rome examined. This will be done in subsequent chapters.



### CHAPTER III.

#### SLAVERY UNDER THE ANCIENT JEWS.

THE religious argument in favor of Slavery is, that it existed under the Mosaic law among the Jews, and is spoken of in the New Testament without special denunciation. Polygamy also existed among the Jews, and the once common punishment of crucifixion is nowhere specially denounced in the New Testament; yet we do not find—out of Utah—an argument derived therefrom, that polygamy ought to be upheld in the United States, or anywhere nailing a thief to a cross to be among the every-day verdicts of the quarter sessions. When men reason in favor of the degradation of a majority of the human race for the supposed benefit of a minority, they must adduce something better than ancient Jewish usage; for that applies to the maintenance of customs fit for barbarians and savages. To take a prisoner of war, as Samuel—the Israelite, preëminent for piety, and hence sweetness of disposition, in his generation—did with Agag, and hew him in pieces “before the Lord,” simply shows an



age primitive in its cruelties; and the most trenchant defender of the system of American Slavery, even the reverend author of the *South-Side View*, would have hesitated to take Santa-Anna, when a prisoner of war, into a temple consecrated to the Author of the Sermon on the Mount, and there with a sword or cleaver cut him into minute particles, as an acceptable offering. But to a mind not disposed to weigh all things in "custom's falsest scale," the every-day barbarities of Slavery are as hideous as this antique portraiture of vengeance on a helpless prisoner, and as fitted for conservation.

But let justice be done the Mosaic code, as regards Slavery. It aimed to soften its fierceness among the rude tribes, among a people so ignorant, being just delivered from Egyptian bondage, that they prostrated themselves in swinish idolatry even at the moment their great law-giver was uttering the Tables of the Law. What was practicable three thousand years ago is not the limit now, either in social economies or positive science. Progress is inevitable: a truism overlooked by wry-necked retrospection, ever measuring the present by the past. But these defenders of American Slavery dishonor the memory of Moses in extracting from his theologico-political laws, parallels for the cruelties of our servile system. The slave among the Israelites was considered a man: to kill him involved the death-penalty. A slave could not be subject to wounds or mutilations: if the master inflicted them, the slave thereby became free. The horrid practice among the orientals, and until lately even existing in Europe, was thus forbidden under the Jewish republic. The Israelite who became a slave among his people, could not remain so, for he was liberated the seventh year: "If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve: and in the seventh shall he go out free for nothing." Every fiftieth year, that of the Jubilee, freedom was specially decreed. "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a Jubilee unto you: and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man to his family." Moreover, the bondage of a Jew meant simply binding him for a period to service, but not as a slave. When so bound to a stranger in the land, he could be redeemed.

“And if a sojourner or stranger wax rich by thee, and thy brother  
“that dwelleth by him wax poor, and sell himself unto the stranger  
“or sojourner by thee, or to the stock of the stranger’s family:  
“after that he is sold, he may be redeemed again; one of his breth-  
“ren may redeem him.” Jacob bound himself for many years’  
service to procure a wife: it was not considered slavery on his part.  
To steal and sell a man was punishable with death, under the Mosaic  
code. Prisoners of war were, according to ancient usage, either  
killed or made slaves. Hence, if we uphold Slavery now, because it  
was sustained in early times, we must, in order not to be self-stulti-  
fied, engender it on the same grounds and irrespective of race and  
color. Accordingly, the English and Mexican, not to mention  
Indian, prisoners whom we have taken in war, if not killed in cold  
blood, should have been enslaved. But even as regards the slavery  
of war prisoners, the mitigations of the Mosaic code appear. Mar-  
riage between the Jew and the feminine prisoner was required for  
her protection; she thereby becoming free, and incapable of being  
enslaved upon a separation of the parties. To perfect the ameliora-  
tion of Slavery among the Jews, the heathen bondmen could  
embrace the Israelitish faith: under this law, necessarily, emancipa-  
tion took place. The workings of this custom must have eventually  
extinguished hereditary bondage under the Jewish republic. It is,  
therefore, the opposite of the American system, which pronounces  
Slavery hopeless and perpetual, and is without a peer for its cruelty.  
When, according to the Scriptures, the Jews were punished by the  
infliction of kingly government, we find the national sentiment of  
liberty gradually decaying to the same extent, and the vices of the  
East and the barbarities of the satraps prevalent. With these we  
have to do, only to point out how a departure from moral obliga-  
tions scattered a nation and blotted it out from the face of the earth.  
The original laws of the Jews taught that they were servants to the  
Lord, and that as He was not an oppressor, having delivered them  
out of the hands of Pharaoh, so should they not be. These awful  
denunciations of Jeremiah, the prophet, were inspired by the im-  
pending punishment for the sin of Slavery:

“Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, I made a covenant with your

fathers in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondmen, saying :

"At the end of seven years, let ye go every man, his brother an Hebrew, which hath been sold unto thee; and when he hath served thee six years, thou shalt let him go free from thee; but your fathers hearkened not unto me, neither inclined their ear.

"And ye were now turned, and had done right in my sight, in proclaiming liberty every man to his neighbor; and ye had made a covenant before me in the house which is called by my name :

"But ye turned and polluted my name, and caused every man his servant, and every man his handmaid, whom he had set at liberty at their pleasure, to return, and brought them into subjection, to be unto you for servants and for handmaids.

"Therefore, thus saith the LORD, ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor: behold, I proclaim liberty for you, saith the LORD, to the sword, to the pestilence and to the famine: and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.

"And I will give the men that have transgressed my covenant, which have not performed the word of the covenant which they had made before me, when they cut the calf in twain, and passed between the parts thereof.

"I will even give them into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of them that seek their life; and their dead bodies shall be for meat unto the fowls of the heaven, and to the beasts of the earth.

"And Zedekiah King of Judah, and his princes, will I give into the hands of their enemies, and into the hand of them that seek their life, and into the hand of the King of Babylon's army, which are gone up from you.

"Behold, I will command, saith the LORD, and cause them to return to this city; and they shall fight against it, and take it and burn it with fire: and I will make the cities of Judah a desolation without an inhabitant."

All allusion to the Bible, as sanctioning the spread of Slavery, should cease on considering this colossal curse on the Jewish nation. The law which demands liberty was not persistently set aside by that people, without blotting it out eventually from the face of the earth. No such terrific anathema on Slavery, carried out to the letter, appears in any other literature. It is a thunderbolt of divine wrath striking down Slavery.

The words of Isaiah may next be cited, as the ecstasy of a lover of freedom: "He hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound."

It is proven, accordingly, that the Mosaic Code, the earlier prac-

tices of the tribes, the words of the most impassioned Jewish writers, and the fate of the nation itself, are all arguments for liberty ; and, in this century, when the million-handed forces of labor-saving machinery, of themselves, without the moral law, demand the utter enfranchisement of man, it is the worst sacrilege to inveigle a Book—the literature of mercy and freedom for the poor and oppressed—into the defence of arch robbery, prostitution, piracy, and murder.



## CHAPTER IV.

### SLAVERY UNDER THE ANCIENT GREEKS AND ROMANS.

It is not necessary here to discuss Slavery as it existed among other people of the East, as their influence on our language, customs, and laws is so remote ; but having disposed briefly of Judaical bondage, which is used as a religious sanction to American Slavery throughout all the South, lay and clerical, and in the North, to whatever extent, it is proper now, with an introductory word, to glance at Slavery under the ancient Greeks and Romans, for our literature and refinements being interwoven with their history, by a false construction, their system of oppression is considered worthy of adoption.

It seems too startling for belief, that the buying and selling of white men should now be upheld by the leading democrats, so-called, of the South, and their followers North, the recipients of federal patronage. But this is easily accounted for when we reflect, that the South has governed the country for the last sixty years ; that the oligarchs of the plantation, grown insolent with power, now speak their real sentiments ; and that the wide-spread amalgamation of white and black blood during generations, has resulted in the presence of hundreds of thousands of slaves of light complexion, many of whom can pass for white men, so the apparition of a white slave, even the beautiful octoroon lady whose high-bred air would shower dignity and love in the home of wealth and culture, causes

no blush of shame or tear of pity, south of the Potomac. The realization of the universal slavery of the white laboring man, in contradistinction to the rich capitalist, is declared simply to be a matter of time by the aristocracy of the South. So long ago as 1836, the Hon. Mr. Pickens, of South Carolina, at present Minister to Russia, then a Member of the House of Representatives, held this language:

"I lay down this proposition as universally true, that there is not, and never was, a society organized under our political system for a period long enough to constitute an era, where one class would not practically and substantially own another class in some shape or form. Let not gentlemen from the North start at this truth. We are yet a people in our infancy. Society has not yet been pressed down to its classifications. Let us live through an era, and we shall discover this great truth. All society settles down into a classification of capitalists and laborers. The former will own the latter."

The Richmond Inquirer, for sixty years the leading democratic paper, is not less emphatic. That journal, speaking of the democratic party, says:

"Until recently, the defence of Slavery has labored under great difficulties, because its apologists (for they were mere apologists), took half-way grounds. They confined the defence of Slavery to mere negro Slavery; thereby giving up the Slavery principle, admitting other forms of Slavery to be wrong.

"The line of defence is now changed. The South maintains that Slavery is right, natural and necessary, and does not depend upon difference of complexion. The laws of the Slave States justify the holding of white men in bondage."

Examples to any required extent could be presented of this logical view of Slavery held by southern politicians and presses: they have properly come to the decision, that Slavery, if right, should apply universally to the white and black man, not a capitalist; in other words, the Grecian and Roman systems should be realized. If we have not arrived at that point, it is because society, in the language of Mr. Pickens, "has not yet been pressed down to its classifications;" and so we must live through an era. We may now examine these ancient systems in view of what American Slavery is to be when time shall have perfected it, according to these slaveholding authorities, provided their authority over the destinies of the country continues unchecked.

The genius and culture of the Greeks and Romans, parallel to, and in some respects surpassing those of modern times, are attested by the works of their poets and historians, the creations of their sculptors and architects which have come down to us. At certain periods vast luxury prevailed among these nations.

The wants of the rich, who, like our own oligarchic-democrats, held labor in dishonor, were ministered to by troops of slaves; but these were, with few exceptions, white slaves. With them, however, Slavery was not confined to field-labor, house-servitude, and a few mechanical arts, such as blacksmithing, carpentry, and brick-laying, as it is in the South. Their slaves being white, they did not use the former, but now rejected argument, of Southerners, as to the inferiority of the race fitting it only for a few simple employments; on the contrary, they had slave doctors, apothecaries, shopkeepers, mechanics of every kind, artists, foremen of workshops and factories, accountants, architects, actors, musicians, overseers of estates and of mining operations, teachers, librarians, and even philosophers. But not more trite than true is Homer's verse :

" Jove fixed it certain that whatever day  
Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away ;"

for although these slaves were of the same climate, country, color, and blood as their masters, yet such is the debasing influence of the institution, that hardly any of them rose to distinction; and among the tens of millions of bondsmen a mere handful of names of celebrities is known. Among the Greeks, Esop, the fabulist, who when on the auction-block, from his hunchback and apparent worthlessness, brought the nominal price of 60 obola, that is one dollar and eighty cents; the philosophers Plato, Phædon, Menippus, and, according to some accounts Diogenes too; Aspasia the mistress of Pericles and instructress of Socrates, and Mnesicles, the architect of the Acropolis, were slaves. Among the Romans the only celebrated names of slaves are those of Spartacus, who headed a rebellion, was defeated, and the remnant of whose slave army, about 10,000 in number, were all at one time crucified—10,000 crosses lining the road on either side from Rome to Capua; of Fabius, surnamed Pictor, the painter, so distinguished was he, and whose chief work was the

decorative painting of the Temple of Health; of Vitruvius, the architect, he who built the Pantheon, and whose work on architecture is a text-book even to this day; and of Philoxenus the poet, and Epictetus the philosopher.

The names cited, few as they are, comprise about all that history has preserved, as distinguished for genius or rare talents, among the almost numberless millions of slaves of antiquity. Of celebrated freemen—warriors, statesmen, historians, poets, artists, philosophers, we have the names or the works of thousands; but of slaves only a score; yet the slaves were as numerous as the freemen and of the same breed and blood.

The nearer slaves are to the master in appearance, talent, and culture, the more cruel must be the code of laws keeping them in subjection. Hence under the Greeks were such provisions as this: No slave was permitted to give evidence in a court, except under torture, the law-makers contending that Slavery, of necessity, so debased the slave that the truth could only be extorted from him while his muscles were being torn asunder and his bones dislocated or broken. Women, as well as men, were in all cases, if slaves, put to this torture when called as witnesses; their masters could not save them from it, provided the party calling them gave security to the master for their value if mutilated, so as to be unfit to work or killed outright. And the slave so tortured, might merely have been a witness to an occurrence in which he had no part, and no interest to describe it otherwise than truthfully. And this hellish law was eulogized by all the great lawyers—the defenders of the constitution and the saviours of the union—among the polished and enlightened Athenians: by Lysias in his case against Simon; by Isocrates in his pleading against Pasion; by Lycurgus against Leocrates; and by that patent democrat Demosthenes—a very Douglas of his time, and owner of 53 slaves—in his oratorical effort against Onetor. When the Southern oligarchs succeed in enslaving the white laborers of the North, we shall have slave laws and customs like those of the ancient republicans, whom they hold up to our admiration. Laws and customs under which white slaves employed in agriculture were branded in the forehead and chained up at night; the workmen in factories, in like manner, chained; the porter of the gentleman's mansion, too,

chained like a watch-dog to the door-post; crucifixion the legal punishment for petty theft and minor crimes; slaves maimed, mutilated, hung on the cross, or thrown into the arena to be devoured by wild beasts, to gratify the vengeance of caprice or the master or mistress, who, under the laws, possessed absolute power over their lives. Such was white slavery in Greece and Rome, where Augustus crucified his overseer Eros for killing a game-cock; where the accomplished Roman gentleman, Veditius, used to amuse himself and friends, and display his wealth, by keeping wild beasts, and feeding them with his slaves; and where crucifixion of the slave for a petty fault or no fault at all, was so ordinary an occurrence, that Juvenal, in a Satire on Matrimony, says: "How unpleasant it is to 'come home and find your wife in a pet because her hair has not 'been dressed to please her, and to have her say to you 'Crucify 'that slave!' and although it is a mere whim, and the slave is 'valuable, yet to have peace and quietness, and put her in a good 'humor, you must lose the value of the slave by having him crucified." This is a domestic picture of life among the refined and highly educated Romans; our models for imitation in the accomplishment of our destiny, according to high democratic authorities. Will it be different with us when white slavery is established? Why should it be? The cause of Slavery has been the same everywhere, as history proves, and so must be its highest development. Its origin lies ever in war; cities and villages are given to flames and pillage, and the inhabitants not killed to the conqueror's yoke. Slavery never can be other than its origin made it. It is simply the triumph of brute force. Its foundation has no sanction in law. There is in this country no law establishing Slavery. There might as well be a law establishing murder on the land or high seas or any other arch-crime; and the slave-trade with Africa is declared by our federal code piracy, punishable with death.

In actions before our law-courts, the evidence of witnesses, and speeches of counsel oftentimes present a truthful picture of our domestic habits and manners; and we obtain a like view of the social life of the ancient Athenian republicans, from reading their law reports. We there learn that household slaves were found universally at Athens, and that a rich man commonly had fifty. But



the minds of Athenian slave-oligarchs seem to have been possessed by the same ludicrous jumble of ideas as to the identity of democracy and Slavery, as befogs the brains of our southern masters. The absurdity, then, of a southern fourth-of-July orator declaiming "We hold these truths to be self-evident," and so forth, to an admiring crowd, largely composed of his own human chattels, seems hardly greater than that of the Athenian republican who went abroad with no more than one of his fifty chattels at his heels, out of respect to the feelings of his democratic constituency, who could not tolerate aristocratic display. It was respectable and democratic at Athens to be followed by one slave. Not to be followed by any, was a sign of poverty; to have a train of three or more, was considered offensive ostentation.

According to authority the most to be relied upon, in the earlier days of the Roman Republic, there were few slaves, being one to about fifteen of the freemen. The name and fame of Cincinnatus are as fresh as though nearly three thousand years had not consumed his ashes, and their identification with rough toil and patriotism grew out of the fact that the customs of the time, shaping the laws, did not permit the citizen to hold more than nine acres of land in the little territory then under Roman jurisdiction: hence, the warrior when needed to lead the army against an invader, was called from the plough. Courage so nurtured was triumphant, and universal conquest, its abuse, possessed the Latin soul in after epochs. One by one, nations were conquered and enslaved; and the empire was rotten to its heart when it glared with fearful power over a prostrate world, and the word of the Roman sentry passed from Stonehenge to Karnac. But the earth will not be defrauded of liberty, without her fierce compensations, and the labor of millions of slaves devastating her bosom, she refused her sustenance. The capital city became the new Babylon for the sword of the avenging angel. All the composite cruelties necessary to feed the barbarous appetites of a pampered and idle rabble nurtured by the stolen crops of foreign nations, and trailing after patricians each master of tens of thousands of human beings—and these grand Caucasian men—were practiced in public: the walls of the vast Amphitheatre still remain a sublime witness of the colossal blood-thirstiness of

pagan Rome, where the armed fighting slaves died by troops in forced slaughter to make a holiday, or wild beasts fed on human flesh to complete the demoniac ecstasy. Italy had her lesson when the great gladiator, Spartacus, rose to make Rome howl: for three years did he and his fellow-men in bonds, keep the legions at bay; and when he fell, his ten thousand men expired on ten thousand crosses, on the Appian Way, where, nailed aloft, they shrieked to a God of mercy to remember the poor slave. The prayer was heard. Italy, half slaves, fell under the Scourge of God.

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## CHAPTER V.

### SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES AND DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

SLAVERY being hostile to the genius of the Christian religion, the cruelties of the pagan world toward white bondsmen were gradually abbreviated, until it is now restricted in Christendom to the nation which is half-asiatic, and there exists under a mitigated form of serfdom, which will be abolished according to all the indices of an active and powerful Russian emancipation party under the present philanthropic emperor. It is not necessary to trace here the gradual decay and extinction of Slavery on the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The reader who is curious on the subject of ancient Slavery and its declination in Europe is referred to *L'Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquité*, par H. Wallon, and to *L'Histoire des races serviles au moyen âge*, par M. J. Yanosky, where the subjects are fully discussed by their several authors with consummate scholarship and humanity. It may now be proper to treat briefly the introduction and progress of Slavery in our own country.

Captain John Smith complained, in his letters to England, of the uselessness of the idle gentlemen in the original colony of Virginia, and asks that mechanics and laborers be sent out, as one of these is worth all the gentry. There were, according to Willson's History,

very few of either mechanics or laborers who accompanied the original expedition, but many adventurers. The idle gentlemen, however, did not wait long for persons to support them in their ease, for thirteen years after the first settlement began, or in the month of August, 1620, a Dutch vessel brought to Jamestown a cargo of twenty slaves, which found purchasers, probably for a trifle. Hardly was there an attempt at English government made in North America, before the poison was thus injected into the veins of the body-politic. The African of unmixed blood, was a barbarian and an execrated heathen. Slavery had already cursed the Spanish colonies: African labor was introduced there originally at the recommendation of Las Casas—who piously trusted thereby to arrest the extinction of the Indians whom the avaricious invaders were rapidly killing in myriads by over toil. Las Casas, however, had not measured “man’s inhumanity to man,” or discovered that his African labor system would be turned to hopeless hereditary bondage. The slave-trade proved too tempting for other European nations to avoid. Queen Elizabeth denounced Slavery, but England fell into the snare, and so too, Holland, following the example of Spain and Portugal. The business of man-stealing being active for the Spanish settlements, it was easily transferred to the English colonies. The protests of good men availed not, and the colonies succumbed to it. It was carried on in defiance of all written law, but with such vigor that in one hundred and sixty years, or at the time of the breaking out of the American Revolution, it was estimated there were half a million slaves.

The Congress of 1776 is usually regarded as the first step to Federal Union. This is an error. That of September, 1774, which met at Philadelphia, was the great primal colonial effort in that direction, and moreover assembled to enforce the rights of mankind. This remarkable body of men represented the various colonies. Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was elected its President, and among the delegates from that colony, were George Washington, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton, Richard Henry Lee, and Patrick Henry; from other colonies, Edward Rutledge, Henry Middleton, Caesar Rodney, Thomas McKeon, Thomas Mifflin, Edward Biddle, John Jay, Philip Livingston, Roger Sherman, Samuel

Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine. These and their coadjutors signed Articles of Association, with the following preamble:

"We do for ourselves and the inhabitants of the several colonies whom we represent, firmly agree and associate, under the sacred ties of virtue, honor and love of our country, as follows:—"

Appended are the Articles of Association, the second of which is this:

"That we will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave-trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it."

Fifty-two names are added to this, those above given included. This unanimous declaration against the slave-trade, considered by its signers the first step toward general emancipation, was afterward affirmed by all the illustrious men of the country, North and South. The opinions of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Jay, Henry, have so often been quoted on this head, that it is hardly necessary to repeat them here. Especially in Jefferson's Works, can Emancipation, treated as a moral and economical necessity, be found, and his jeremiad, quoted in the epigraph of the title of these pages, is coincident with the whole tenor of his serious warnings on the subject.

The meeting of Congress of 1774 was preceded by lively local action on the subject of Slavery. The Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, of Pennsylvania, led the way, and in 1775, with Benjamin Franklin as President, made the first attempt at a regular abolition society; the effects of which were soon seen, for in 1780, during the war, be it marked, Pennsylvania stopped her slave traffic and decreed the future liberty of all persons born thenceforward within her limits. New York and other Northern States soon adopted the same policy, and some of the Southern States stopped the foreign slave-trade. With the efforts of abolition societies, Slavery was eventually declared illegal and impossible in all the Northern States.

Contemporaneously with the action of the Republican Fathers in

the colonies, patriotic and philanthropic men in the mother country sought to strike off the bonds of the oppressed. At the head of these was Granville Sharpe, a gentleman holding a public office. At a time when the British Government, laical and ecclesiastical, was smeared with the blood of the slave, this illustrious friend of man undertook to procure the reversal of the decision of the courts and render Slavery in the British Islands impossible. This was effected as follows. A slave, born in Africa and held in Virginia, was brought by his owner to England. There, under the advantages afforded him, he sought his freedom. The case was brought before Lord Mansfield, who, to his imperishable honor, decided that Slavery was so odious that nothing could sustain it but positive law, and therefore decreed the liberty of the man. This is known as the Somerset Case, and occurred in the year 1774. More than half a century previous to this, it had been decided by Chief Justice Holt, that Slavery could not exist in England; but this decision was set aside through the influence of the slaveholding interest, among other reasons, on the ground that the abolition held good throughout the British Empire. By a strict parallel, the decision of Lord Mansfield applied to the colonies. There was no positive law in the colonies establishing slavery, and hence, as regards the statute-book, they were identical with the mother country, and subject to the same supreme decision. The law, as laid down by Lord Mansfield, has never been reversed in England.

During the American Revolution, the importation of slaves from Africa necessarily ceased, and in 1778, Virginia, through Jefferson's abolition influence, rendered that commerce illegal within her borders. The difficulty of carrying on a contest with England, in places where Slavery abounded, was severely felt, not only from the necessity of guarding a servile population, but also from its effects on the whites, preventing the spread of intelligence necessary to a comprehension of liberty. South Carolina, accordingly, petitioned to be relieved of her supply of a full quota of men to the army, on account of having to look after her slaves; and her infirmity, as regards the most ignorant part of her white population, is described by her eminent soldier, General Marion. This incapacity, though partially compensated for by the bravery and devotion of some of her troops,

remains in history as one of the many proofs of the innate feebleness, the imbecility—as Madison expresses it—of a State where Slavery has become predominant and the slaves very numerous. When Athens fell under the invader's arm, her weakness was her slaves: when Rome succumbed, as we have seen, it was for the same reason. These laws are irrefragable and eternal. To deny them is supreme folly; and yet that folly is practiced by the political men of two-thirds of the entire country occupied by the United States.

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## CHAPTER VI.

## THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

DURING the Revolutionary war it had become necessary to arrange the ownership of the public lands of the West, about which there were disputes among the States. Some of them owned territories, others not, and it was finally agreed by the Continental Congress that these lands should, with slight reservations, be the property of the confederation, to be disposed of for the general benefit of all, meeting thus the debts incurred by the war. To render the public lands available immediately became the subject of special legislation, and in 1784, Thomas Jefferson reported to Congress a plan to forbid Slavery in all the Territories. This projected likewise the division of the Territory, north and south, into seventeen States. Had it been adopted, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi would be free States, and their influence have secured emancipation, in all probability, to subsequently-acquired territory. But it failed—not through a minority, but simply through the fact that a vote of nine States was necessary for any measure—hence although six States were affirmative to three negative, and sixteen of the members present affirmative to seven negative, it was not carried. South Carolina, which along with Maryland and Virginia, had voted no, stood finally alone in her opposition to the measure as amended. This State then, as now, was preëminent in her unqualified opposition to liberty. In

1787, while Jefferson was minister to France, the Continental Congress, holding its session in the city of New York, passed the ordinance for the northwestern territory; if he had still been a member of that body, it is not to be doubted that his genius would have been felt in extending the immeasurable benefits of its inhibition of Slavery. The prosperity and glory of the West are based on this memorable sentence from the pen of Dane, of Massachusetts—him whose memory is exalted by Webster in the Reply to Hayne, of South Carolina—the latter never having heard of “Nathan Dane:” “There shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than as punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall be duly convicted.”

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## CHAPTER VII.

### CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS ON THE SUBJECT, AND THEIR EARLY SEQUENCES.

THE debates of the Convention which made the Constitution of the United States show how clear were the perceptions of the statesmen of those days on the effects of Slavery, and how eager they were to abolish it. The wealth of the single city of Philadelphia was cited by Gouverneur Morris, who wrote the Constitution, as superior to that of all the South, simply because of her almost total freedom from the curse, and the respect in which she held the industry of free men. A Federal Constitution was formed, “to secure the blessings of liberty,” and the word slave or Slavery not allowed to soil its rhetoric; but South Carolina, true to the instincts of the oligarchy, sought to have an article requiring the restitution of fugitive slaves to their masters, a part of that instrument; and, finally, the matter was compromised by the insertion of this clause, offered by Pierce Butler of that State.

“No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but

"shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

The word "servitude" was stricken out as applicable to slaves; and "service," in the above clause substituted. This was done because "servitude" applies to slaves and "service" to free men, the framers of the Constitution being determined not to recognize Slavery in that instrument. Madison is authority on this head.

In this effort to obtain ascendancy for the slave oligarchy, Georgia sustained South Carolina, although her founder, Oglethorpe, was inflexibly hostile to the introduction of Slavery in the colony. Georgia likewise, upon ceding her territory to the Union, now forming the States of Alabama and Mississippi, stipulated for the introduction of Slavery; so, too, did North Carolina with her territory.

Although the territory north of the Ohio was saved to freedom and civilization, the efforts of a portion of the population from Slave States settled there, were active to suspend the ordinance of 1787, and introduced the curse. In 1803, a memorial presented to Congress by Governor Harrison, of Indiana Territory, and others, for this purpose, was nobly disposed by John Randolph, of Virginia, Chairman of a Committee to whom it was referred. This report, equally honorable to his philanthropy and statesmanship, was referred to another Committee acting at the next session, in 1804. This other Committee, whose chairman was from a Slave State, Delaware, reported favorably, forbidding, however, the introduction of slaves from foreign countries, and providing for emancipation of the descendants of the slaves, the men at twenty-five and the women at twenty-one years of age. Congress, however, did not legislate thereupon. In 1805 and 1806, similar efforts were made to procure the introduction of Slavery temporarily into the West—and a report, the chairman being from a Slave State, Virginia, favored the memorials, but it was not acted on. In 1807, Governor Harrison again sent resolutions from Indiana to Congress, asking for this boon of Slavery. The resolutions were favorably reported by a Committee of seven, in which of the old Northern States there was but one member, the rest being from the South and West. The House did not act upon the report, although it was made the subject of a special order. In the Senate, Mr. Franklin reported adversely. It will be



seen by these evidences what a risk the Northwestern States ran of being despoiled by Slavery even after the beneficent provision of the ordinance of 1787.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE ANNEXATION OF LOUISIANA AND THE EFFECTS OF COTTON CULTURE.

Among the curious chapters of American history is the purchase of Louisiana. Napoleon, in opposition to the advice of Talleyrand, who was a statesman—being bent upon the extension of empire, or annexation—had to raise money to fill his treasury, and accordingly cast about for the means wherewith to acquire it. The correspondence of Mr. Livingston affords a memorable example of egotistic folly, and shows to an incredible degree the exhausted state of French finances. The wars of ambition rendered Louisiana insecure, and placed it, owing to the chronic defeats of the French naval force, at the mercy of England. So, under the circumstances, it had to be sold. A new world was given away for the price of some thousands of cultivated acres, and small as the sum paid, fifteen millions, Napoleon was, it appears, ready to have disposed of it for twelve. Jefferson originally could not find in the Constitution the power to purchase additional territory, but that instrument was elastic then as when Texas was annexed, and so Louisiana was bought. Slavery, as it existed in Louisiana, was protected by the treaty with France. This purchase occurred in 1803. It gave a new impulse to Slavery, as events proved.

Cotton was not originally a staple of the South, for the machinery necessary to clean it, and thus prepare it for manufacture, was wanting. Eli Whitney, of Connecticut, invented the Cotton-Gin in 1792, and this little instrument became the pivot around which the politics of the entire country revolved. When we speak of parties now—North and South, Sectionalism, Disunion—they are all referable to the Cotton-Gin. Statesmanship in this country—the war with

Mexico, the acquisition of new territory—means simply southern predominance coming of New England genius, as expressed in this small machine. The statesmen of Virginia had not been slow to perceive, even before the close of the last century, how such ignorant, forced toil of slaves desolated the land. John Randolph subsequently in Congress sought to cut the gordian-knot of the slave question by saying that emancipation would ensue because slave-labor was impoverishing the State to such a degree, that masters would run away from slaves. But the new-created world of cotton—fortified to the last degree by the magnificent achievement of Fulton in revolutionizing water-navigation—another northern radiation of genius—to which came ultimately, as a corollary, land-travel and carriage by steam on railways—reversed the liberal tendencies of Virginia, and her controlling influence was used “to shut the gates of mercy on mankind.” For it was found that besides rearing Presidents—of which Virginia once practically claimed a monopoly, having in a period of thirty-two out of thirty-six years given the Union four Presidents, and voted against the two Presidents from New England, as political lepers—she could raise negroes for the cotton, and albeit the new sugar regions: and why not? The negro infant costs nothing; the negro child next to nothing; and the negro man some pecks of corn and pounds of bacon, and a pauper’s uniform. So, to what more profitable use, bating the exhaustion of the land and the decay of cities, can a State be put? It is true that patriotism and humanity object; that the Humboldts and O’Connells of Europe stand aghast at such a sight. But the trade in slave-breeding yields to Virginia some sixteen millions a year, when agriculture is rude and arts are not. It is true that generations of blood, fiery as the courage of Washington, subtle as the eloquence of Jefferson, are interfused with the original African stock; that the love and loyalty of tenderest womanhood, with the Caucasian rose and lily, are knocked down at the auction-block, to bloat the lust of arch-ruffianism, but—the trade yields sixteen millions.

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE MISSOURI QUESTION.

LOUISIANA became a State in 1812, a comparatively small portion of the territory coming into the Union at that time. The remainder to the north continued as territory for several years. In 1817, a portion of this sought admission to the Union as a State, under the name of Missouri, and a bill to that effect was reported to the House, but was not passed upon at that session. In 1818, it was again taken up, and among the amendments offered was one by James Talmadge, of the State of New York, forbidding the further introduction of Slavery into Missouri, and providing that all children born of slaves within the State be free, but may be held to service until the age of twenty-five years. The vote on this amendment stood eighty-seven yeas, one only, from Delaware, being from a slave State, and nays seventy-eight, ten of these being from free States—three from Massachusetts, three from New York, one from New Jersey, one from New Hampshire, one from Ohio, one from Illinois. The debate on the subject was marked by a most masterly speech of Mr. Talmadge, in which he flouted threats of disunion and civil war. "If," said he, "a dissolution of the Union must take place, let it be so! If civil war, which gentlemen so much threaten, must come, I only say, let it come. My hold of life is probably as frail as that of any man who now hears me; but while that hold lasts it shall be devoted to the service of my country—to the freedom of man." The Senate, on taking up the bill, voted, twenty-seven to seven, to strike out the amendment on the freedom of children born of slaves, and twenty-two to sixteen that on the introduction of Slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime. In these two votes Senator Roberts, of Pennsylvania, and Senator Sandford, of New York voted against the one restriction and for the other. The House refused to concur. The Senate still held to its vote, and the House again refused, by a vote of seventy-eight to sixty-six; so the bill did not

pass. Arkansas, upon being admitted as a territory at the same time, came in without restriction as to Slavery—a Slavery-restriction vote being reconsidered and rejected. This enabled her to enter the Union eventually as a slave State.

The question of Slavery, which had so long practically slumbered in the public mind, the common belief of the free States being that it would decay and die out, was through the Missouri agitation brought in a most lively form before the nation. The Northern Legislatures rushed to the rescue of freedom so menaced. New York petitioned briefly and firmly; New Jersey at greater length; and Pennsylvania still more elaborately; and even Delaware sided with these. New York had distinguished herself by the eminent oratorical effort of Mr. Talmadge in the House; the question in Pennsylvania called forth the arguments of her ablest citizens, irrespective of party, and federalists and democrats—Leiper, Barker, Vaux, Binney, Raybold, Palmer, Coulter, Rogers, Wilkins, Jared Ingersoll, all acted together. In the Legislature of Pennsylvania, Duane, afterward Secretary of the Treasury under Jackson, drew up the memorial to Congress against admitting “any Territory as a State into the Union, unless such a Territory shall stipulate and agree that ‘the further introduction of Slavery and involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be prohibited, and that all children born within the said Territory, after its admission into the Union as a State, shall be free, but may be held to service until the age of twenty-five years.’” The Senate and House of Representatives of Pennsylvania unanimously passed this in December, 1819. An elaborate memorial to Congress to the same effect, written by Webster, was sent from Boston in the same month. Clay opposed this restriction, and so did the State of Kentucky. In the beginning of 1820 the subject came again before Congress. The House had already, that session, passed a bill to admit Maine as a State; that bill came back from the Senate with an additional clause respecting Missouri, to admit her as a State, without any Slavery restriction; but excluding Slavery forever from all the Louisiana purchase, north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes. This had been passed in the Senate by twenty-four to twenty;

all the northern and western States voting against it excepting Illinois—the amendment being offered by Mr. Thomas, of that State. A vote in the Senate for excluding Slavery from all territory, north and west of Missouri, had also passed, 84 to 10. The House rejected the amendments of the Senate, by 102 to 68. The Senate held to its position; and the bill again coming before the House, that body remained firm. The Senate then adopted the House Bill less the restriction-clause. A conference was agreed upon, and three senators for the Slave-interest, and five representatives—two of them though from free States, known to be for Slavery—two from free States and for freedom, and one from a slave State, afforded of course a report fatal to emancipation in Missouri; Olay was then Speaker. For this there were 14 votes from the free, and 76 from the slave States; and against it 87; the entire negative vote being from the free States. The northern vote of 14, giving the majority, was on account of the exclusion of Slavery from the territory north and west of Missouri, included in the Bill. In July, 1820, Missouri made a Constitution, but was in November of the same year refused admission as a State, by the House of Representatives, on account of certain ultra-Slavery provisions; among others, one preventing the settlement within her borders of free negroes and mulattoes. Mr. Olay, who had resigned the Speakership, effected a compromise, annulling that obnoxious clause. It barely passed the House, 86 to 82; Senate, 26 to 15. In this compromise, as in every other of a sectional character, the North was defeated and humiliated. Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, in announcing the result as a southern triumph, spoke the sentiments of the slave-oligarchy. The majority vote in the House was obtained by virtue of that clause of the Constitution which enables the South to vote on three-fifths of the slaves, and has made the legislation of Congress, from the commencement, chiefly a record of the will and pleasure of their owners.

## CHAPTER X.

## POLITICAL QUESTIONS AFTER THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

THE slave-question, outside of the long-continued and earnest Missouri debate in Congress, was likewise, at the time, actively considered in another sense, owing to a contemplated insurrection in Charleston, South Carolina, in the year 1820. A frightful massacre was meditated when a discovery took place, and numerous arrests and capital punishment of slaves ensued. After this, there was a lull in the public mind. The Colonization Society was the only body which aimed even at the bettering a few waifs from the maelstrom of Slavery, by sending them to Liberia. In the year 1827, Judge Stroud, of Philadelphia, published a work on the Laws of Slavery, revealing the secrets of the chamber of horrors, but it made no sensation. It appeared to be conceded that Slavery would expire, but when or how, was not determined. The question of a protective tariff for American manufactures, owing chiefly to the efforts of Mathew Carey, of Philadelphia, and Hezekiah Niles, of Baltimore, who treated the subject profoundly and exhaustively in print, was definitely brought before Congress, and a very moderate bill passed in 1824. It worked so admirably that in 1828 it was enlarged and intensified, many who were originally lukewarm or in opposition, being then in favor of the measure. The leading advocate for this in the Senate was Mr. Clay. The additional impost on foreign fabrics stimulated immensely domestic manufactures, and, aided by the economical administration of John Quincy Adams, which yearly never exceeded thirteen millions, caused the country to be so prosperous that the national debt was paid off, and new heart and hope thus given to the friends of Republican Government in both hemispheres; for, a great country owing no man, stood the political wonder of the world. But it was precisely this golden age of spreading liberty which roused the fanaticism of the most aristocratic portion of the planting-interest, South Carolina; the extreme slave-oligarchy in

the State Legislature, interested in the rich and alone eligible to that body, by the possession of slave-property or its equivalent, each member to the amount of ten thousand dollars, and represented in the United States Senate appropriately by such men as Calhoun and McDuffie, resisted the benediction-bill of protection with a frenzy of wrath: its good effects on the North were pronounced robberies of the South, and the school of political economy insisted on, which England—having but one State-secret, that national wealth depends on importing raw material and exporting manufactured articles—taught to America and the world, herself practicing the reverse. Calhoun and McDuffie had both been Protectionists up to the time that New England had adopted the policy: but hate of the North characterized them, in the same way that the South now “sickens at the name of free institutions of the North and its filthy operatives, “greasy mechanics and small-fisted farmers.” Mr. McDuffie said, if it were a choice between Liverpool and Manchester, and Boston and Lowell, he preferred the English cities. A constitutional provision, although it calls slaves “persons,” enables one thousand of them to rate in the hands of the voting-masters as six hundred freemen, and has always thereby packed the House of Representatives so that the South controlled the committees and governed the country. This, with cognate advantages, has made the minority govern the majority in South Carolina, or the planting east the farming west of that State. Accordingly, the oligarchic cry for resistance to the Revenue Laws under the tariff, became the legislative word of South Carolina, in 1832. President Jackson was characteristically and properly ready to suppress by force the malcontents, when Mr. Clay introduced into the Senate a Compromise measure, reducing duties on foreign articles gradually, which the Disunionists, in their strait, were too glad to accept. This measure proved disastrous for the North. Simultaneously with this tariff question was the great contest respecting the Bank of the United States, which ended with its destruction, and the creation of eight hundred new State Banks; and, finally, national and wide-spread individual bankruptcy ensued on the minimum reduction of duties, connected with a bloated and rotten State-currency. It is proper to mention these questions, because they so occupied the public mind that Slavery was lost sight of, except by a

few. The public topics were cotton and bank notes or specie, sub-treasury, and immense speculations in public lands—the last, of course, to the detriment of actual settlers, the only persons who should hold them—but inevitable under a system which broke down native industry and manufactures. The southern war in Florida, added to the financial difficulties and helped on the hour of bankruptcy. The Republican party, in the canvass of 1860, it is proper to say, is not unanimous on the subject of the tariff, but to secure the adhesion of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, especially, it was necessary to introduce Protection into the Chicago Platform; and in so far, a Republican Administration would be found to discriminate in favor of American manufactures in arranging the duties.

The time of which we have been treating was, however, not without its lessons as regards the Slave-question, for in 1832, an insurrection, extending through several counties of Virginia, led the Legislature of that State to discuss at length the abolition of Slavery within her borders, and certainly no bolder denunciation of the curse was ever uttered, or a clearer perception of the economy and progress of a free State manifested. At that period, too, the North was exultantly prosperous, and the most enlightened men in Virginia aimed, through abolition, to have their State rival the arts and manufactures of the Free States, so suddenly diffused. Mr. Charles James Faulkner is now an ultra Pro-Slavery man, and rewarded accordingly with an office—the mission to France; every place in this country, from the least unto the greatest, being bestowed because the recipient is in favor of Slavery; but in 1832 he spoke fervidly in favor of abolition in the Virginia Legislature. We give a brief extract, as indicative of the tone of the debate:

“But, sir, it is said that society having conferred this right of property on the slaveholder, it cannot now take it away from him without an adequate compensation, by which is meant, full value. I may be singular in the opinion, but I defy the legal research of the House to point me a principle recognized by the law, even in the ordinary course of its adjudications, where the community pays for the property, which is removed or destroyed, because it is a nuisance, and found injurious to that society. . . . ‘Something must be done,’ emphatically exclaimed the gentleman from Dinwiddie: and I thought I could perceive a response to that declaration in the countenances of a large majority of this body. And why must something be done? Because if not, says the gentleman from Campbell, the throats of all the white



people will be cut. 'No,' says the gentleman from Dinwiddie, 'the whites cannot be conquered—the throats of the blacks will be cut.' It is a trifling difference, to be sure, sir, and matters not to the argument. For the fact is conceded that one or the other race must be exterminated."

This is the extremest kind of Anti-Slavery doctrine: abolition, unconditional, with no payment to the masters. The Richmond Enquirer then advocated abolition in Virginia. So death-like was the calm of the public mind of the Free States on the subject—the greatest which ever occupied a Southern Legislature—that it is said only two journals, The National Gazette and The New York American, published these debates. But at this period, William Lloyd Garrison sought to utter the same southern opinions in Baltimore, and was imprisoned for a technical libel on a dealer in the foreign slave-trade; afterwards taking refuge in Boston, he was mobbed for his abolition writings, and forced to fly. This inaugurated the Anti-Slavery sentiment, for he persisted, and finally found a foot-hold, though the Governor of Alabama offered \$5,000 for his head. A portion of the Friends of Philadelphia took active emancipation views, and built a hall for their purpose; and on its opening it was mobbed and burnt. All attempts to have abolition or free-soil meetings, met, at first, with similar assaults in various cities. The Rev. Mr. Lovejoy, in Illinois, in seeking to utter sentiments in favor of ameliorating the condition of the blacks, was shot by a mob and killed. Notwithstanding this, the efforts of earnest writers and men of culture, were sufficient to create a party which exercised influence. The writings or speeches of Weld, Gay, Goodell, Johnson, Phillips, Stewart, Bailey, May, and others, upon Slavery, finally reached active partisans in the field of politics, who came to the contest armed with fresh and exact facts and statistics, on its cruelties and barbarisms, and the certain ruin of exasperating and spreading it. J. Q. Adams, Giddings, Stevens, and Hale, were among the first to defy southern fury in Congress. As early as 1837-38, the force of these Anti-Slavery writings and speeches was forcibly felt in the State of New York: questions were propounded to the whig candidates for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, and as they answered was the vote thrown. The Slavery question, from occupying the attention of a small fraction of the people, became again of nationally vital importance, through the

fresh aggressions of the South, in seeking to add a new empire to the Southwest, and increase the power of the slave representation in Congress. The boldness and persistency of the plantation members were in splendid and admirable contrast, apart from the cause of oppression, to the stolid timidity and reticence of too many men from the North. Oligarchs from the Slave States bore themselves, as regards demeanor in Congress, with the imperiousness of Norman conquerors, holding the doomsday book in their hands: men from the Free States, often with the air of a conquered tribe. J. Q. Adams, on this head, is conclusive. It is to the honor of the southern members that they never were called "dough-faces;" and it was found necessary to imitate the better part of their chivalry before the representatives of the North could assume the stalwart place which they in turn now enjoy.



## CHAPTER XI.

### THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND SOUTHERN POLICY.

THE new aggression was the annexation of Texas. This immense territory had long been settled by a few American adventurers; and in 1834 armed men began to migrate thither from the southwest, for the purpose of taking possession, Houston being their leader. In one year Texan independence was declared, one of the chronic revolutions of Mexico being the convenient cause; and hard fighting in another year secured a triumph over invading Mexicans. Texas, as was designed, became a slave territory under the new masters, and proximity and propinquity to the people of the southwest made its annexation to the Union a plantation question. The spirit of compromise, as usual, then budded forth when the South was to triumph. Slavery, it was said, was a transient institution, and ought not to prevent the introduction of a new and valuable territory, which, however, must only be a State with the consent of Mexico.

Mr. Van Buren was not nominated at the Baltimore Convention for his views on Texas. In the Presidential contest of 1844 the Anti-Slavery vote of New York was given to Mr. Birney; and thus cast against Mr. Clay for failing to oppose radically the introduction of more slave territory, his defeat was attributed to this defection. Polk and Dallas were chosen as being sound on the Texas question; and they had the further advantage of being advertised throughout the South as Free-traders, and throughout the North, especially in Pennsylvania, as Protectionists. There was nothing now in the way of annexing Texas, except a breach of faith with Mexico, and the wrong of confirming American Slavery, introduced surreptitiously into a new empire; but these were trifling considerations to the annexationists, and so eventually a joint resolution was passed, 26 to 25, and 134 to 77, to admit Texas. This occurred in 1845. Two more senators were thereupon brought in for the ultra-slave power. The tariff of 1842 had been made to relieve the Government from bankruptcy, and give hundreds of thousands idle and destitute people employment. Its magnificent effects were again beginning to show themselves, for it, of course, took a little time for capital and skill to begin to combine on large manufacturing and mining operations; but that moment was selected by the ultra-South, through Mr. Walker, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury, to declare against the tariff, and four years after its passage it was destroyed, and a free-trade or revenue bill substituted. To effect this, Vice-President Dallas, of Pennsylvania, there being a tie-vote in the Senate, cast his vote on the ultra-southern side, although he had passed as a tariff man at home, and Mr. Buchanan had declared Mr. Polk to be as good a tariff man as Mr. Clay.

The war with Mexico followed, as a matter of course, the aggression on Texas, and ended, after costing two hundred and seventeen million dollars, and an expenditure of blood to match. The result of this war was a vast addition of new territory and a proportionate struggle to reduce it to Slavery. Annexation of territory is irresistible, and would, under an unqualified republican government of the Union, take place to an extent sufficient to gratify the largest desires, by the mere force of peaceful accretion. There was at one time every reason to hope that Canada was ripening for annexation

through this law, but that expectation is indefinitely postponed or extinguished, for it is impossible to invite the addition of free territory in face of the Slavery doctrines of the South, holding that the mechanic and laborer, white or black, should be bought, sold, and enslaved. It may be mentioned that the acquisition of Canada might, in the opinion of some writers, have been secured in the war of 1812, had the administration been sufficiently in earnest. It failed to secure northern territory. The additions to the Union have all come in as slave territory first. If there were no Slavery in this country there would be no difficulty in the government of federated States combining all British America with our present limits, and presenting an impregnable front on the Gulf and the two oceans.

The annexation of Texas in 1845, and the consequent war, gave rise to debates on the restriction of Slavery in the new territories likely to be acquired by conquest or treaty. To exclude the evil from them was the aim of the proviso of Mr. Wilmot, a democrat, of Pennsylvania. This was added to an appropriation bill, passed in the House in 1846, placing two million dollars in the President's hands to negotiate for peace with Mexico. Mr. Douglas, it may be remarked, voted against the resolution, being then, as now, for permitting the extension of Slavery. While the Proviso was debated in the Senate, the period for adjournment came, and so no vote was had in that body. In the Congress of 1847-8, the question was again brought before the House, and laid on the table by a southern vote, aided by twenty-five northern democratic votes. The northern whigs went solidly in its favor.

This period was signalized by the apparition of the letter of Mr. Cass in favor of "squatter sovereignty;" but it did not secure his election over General Taylor, a slaveholder, but of moderate views, sufficient, however, to satisfy the southern whigs. In a great many words, Mr. Cass sought to prove that the settlers in a territory could carry Slavery with them, and then, when ready, could form a slave State. This makes Slavery national, not sectional, and renders the free States parties to the growth of it. It bears also sophism on its face, for the argument that Slavery is left to the people of the Territories is false. People who may be every way the equal of Mr. Cass in intellect, and his superior morally, are not consulted if they

have one drop in a thousand of African blood in their veins ; or, according to late democratic interpretation, if of pure white blood, they are as much entitled to be slaves as if tainted with black. The doctrine is thoroughly depraved, and only could be enunciated by a northern man bent on pleasing the South and making a desperate effort for the Presidency, to which, however, he failed to attain. The democracy of the northern States having taken ground against the supreme dictation South, the Buffalo Platform of 1848 may be considered a specimen of the spirit and aims of that party at the time. This document, drawn up by Mr. Cochrane, who since, along with Mr. John Van Buren, has gone over to the extreme slave party, held the present doctrines of the Republican party, with still greater requisitions not in the Chicago Platform. That was the sentiment of the majority ; but the task-masters drove the weak-minded and unscrupulous out of the eminent position assumed ; while the more intelligent and honest democrats held to them, and joined the Republican party eventually. The Irish famine of 1847 exercised an immense influence in finding temporarily a great market for western grain and other products. This momentary prosperity gained by the awful sufferings of another great nation, is as much to be deprecated as if it were caused by domestic famine ; but the result was assumed by the free-traders as a concomitant of the revenue tariff of 1846. So, too, the new phenomena in the political and business world caused by the accidental discovery of the California mines, and the introduction of some fifty millions of gold yearly to the national stock, acted prodigiously on the national mind, and its vitality was assumed as a part of the free-trade tariff in question. Speculation raged again ; immigration was enhanced to such an extent that nearly half a million of persons in one year were introduced from Europe, and if each immigrant be valued merely as worth one thousand dollars, the increment of wealth may be estimated. The citizens of foreign birth who came in with this influx, who are now capable of voting, exercise a great influence. The Irish go nearly solidly for Slavery, not caring or knowing whether the next step of the oligarchs will be to try to realize their expressed wish to enslave the white man. The Germans are divided in politics, but are expected to have vast weight in the West at the coming canvass.

They are ably represented by some of their countrymen, devoted friends to universal freedom. The commercial crisis which was looked for in 1852-53, was put off till 1857. The result has been a decrease of immigration from Europe to about seventy thousand persons a year. This year, however, it has received a fresh stimulus. The native American party, because of this reduced immigration, as may be inferred, has declined much from its most active organization. Its members are now merging in other parties. The mercantile debt due on bonds to Europe is estimated at five hundred millions. Meanwhile, our own operatives, and mines and water-power have remained inactive to that amount, and to the indefinite extent of unresolved capabilities.

The Oregon question being debated, there was much intemperate war declamation, England being at this time the object of it. It was "54° 40' or fight;" but the belligerents, under sober councils, were content with less. Mr. Douglas attacked Mr. Clay as ready to give England half of that territory, and then at last did not get the 54° 40' line, and did not fight. The subject of its Territorial government was made the occasion of an unsuccessful attempt coming from South Carolina, in the House, to legalize Slavery in any territory south of 36° 30'. The vote on organizing the Territorial government of Oregon was, of course, sectional; the South in the negative. The bill being before the Senate, Mr. Douglas also sought to amend it so as to make the Missouri restriction line of 36° 30' extend to the Pacific, which amendment the Senate adopted. The House refused to accede, and finally the Senate passed the bill without amendment; so that Oregon eventually came in the Union without the fatal taint of Slavery. No occasion was lost by Mr. Douglas, as is shown, to strengthen the slave power. To doom a thousand million acres to Slavery was, with him, a trifle compared with improving his chances of political advancement with the South. The northern democracy, as we have seen, was by this time much roused through chronic southern aggression, and the party became hopelessly divided.

## CHAPTER XII.

## THE LAST OF THE COMPROMISES.

THE year 1850 is memorable for the last of those compromises by which national territory, interest and rights were sacrificed to the slave oligarchy. The multitudes who went to California in quest of gold and kindred speculation, soon afforded a population sufficient to admit it as a State into the Union. Upon its application to that effect, there commenced a sectional struggle in Congress. California applied for admission with a free constitution. Mr. Olay thereupon offered resolutions in the Senate supporting the measure of her unconditional admission; and pronouncing it also inexpedient to legislate on Slavery, as regards the territory acquired from Mexico, because it did not exist, and was not likely to exist there. These resolutions also defined Texan boundaries; declared against the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, while it existed in Maryland; against the slave-trade in the District of Columbia; for a fugitive slave law; and denied the right of Congress to interfere in the slave-trade between the States.

All these provisions, but that on the human flesh markets in the District, are for the Oligarchy, because the condition of California, as regards freedom, was such, her splendid advances toward civilization, her huge industry, in which there was no work too servile for the proudest to undertake, consecrated her to freedom from the first, and no oligarchy of slave-traders and holders could keep her out. The question of her admission as a Free State was a foregone conclusion, and was independent of diplomacy or debate. But the other territory was left open to the chances of Slavery: the rights of man were of no account, but the range of the thermometer was to define the bounds of liberty. Not so was the grand spirit which dictated the Resolution of 1784, excluding Slavery from all territory North or South, cold or hot; not making the zones the lines for oppression and barbarism. How futile are supposititious

statements as to how high Slavery will go in the latitudes; how false were Mr. Webster's views on the subject, in common with all the statesmanship that did not take the original ordinance and the Eternal Law which knows no compromise, has been shown since 1850 in Kansas. The country was in danger of division, it was necessary to conciliate: that has always been the word when the knot of oligarchs in the Senate and House had some fresh scheme of conspiracy against human nature, some stronger chain to bind the arm of northern labor, or make it wield the lash over a new expanse of plantations.

A committee of thirteen, of which Mr. Clay was chairman, reported a bill on the subjects in question. This neither established nor prohibited Slavery in the new Territories. Owing to its varied character, it went by the name of the Omnibus Bill. After much debate and much manœuvring, this bill was defeated by a motion made by Mr. Dawson, of Georgia, to add a section providing that no Territorial Government east of the Rio-Grande should go into operation, or any State be established for New Mexico embracing any Territory east of the Rio-Grande, until the boundary of the whole State of Texas was settled. The bill was then razed down; the non-establishment and non-prohibition slavery-feature cut out; and the Territorial Government clause for New Mexico excised. After many efforts of Southern members to keep out California, a vote on her admission was taken in the Senate and decided affirmatively, there being eighteen Southern votes in the negative. New Mexico and Utah were then admitted as Territories, Mr. Chase vainly endeavoring to apply slavery-exclusion to them. The Fugitive Slave Bill, which proved such a cause of discontent and impassioned opposition, was then passed, and a bill excluding Slavery from the District. The House was not long in agreeing to these bills; and so the Union was saved, all cause of sectional discontent allayed, and patriotism was exultant. God's mill grinds slow, but grinds sure.



## CHAPTER XIII.

## THE SLAVE QUESTION—UNDER PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.

ALL was calm. The slave-trade between Virginia and the new South was flourishing. Gold came in on the vapory wings of steam from the romantic shores of the Pacific. Speculation glowed. Solid men and schemes trembled as credit expanded and debts abroad swelled in 1852-3; but they did not then fail. War lent its memories to the Presidential contest, and the brave and accomplished Scott was unsuccessfully measured in the Presidential contest against Pierce. But the latter was sound to the core in oligarchic orthodoxy. The South had ruled up to that period and it was logical that slave-masters should rise to still higher plains of aggression. The occasion was not wanting for this flight. The land bought of Napoleon was not yet used up. The Missouri restriction line of 36° 30' was considered an inflexible and unalterable matter of history. It was even sanctioned by Mr Calhoun in the Cabinet in 1820. But out of Egypt came darkness. On the fourth of January, 1854, Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories in the Senate, made a Report as follows:

*"The Committee on Territories, to whom was referred a bill for an act to establish the Territory of Nebraska, have given the same that serious and deliberate consideration which its great importance demands, and beg leave to report it back to the Senate with various amendments, in the form of a substitute for the bill:*

"The principal amendments which your Committee deem it their duty to commend to the favorable action of the Senate, in a special report, are those in which the principles established by the Compromise Measures of 1850, so far as they are applicable to Territorial organizations, are proposed to be affirmed and carried into practical operation within the limits of the new Territory.

"The wisdom of those measures is attested, not less by their salutary and beneficial effects, in allaying sectional agitation and restoring peace and harmony to an irritated and distracted people, than by the cordial and almost universal approbation with which they have been received and sanctioned by the whole country. In the judgment of your Committee,

those measures were intended to have a far more comprehensive and enduring effect than the mere adjustment of difficulties arising out of the recent acquisition of Mexican Territory. They were designed to establish certain great principles, which would not only furnish adequate remedies for existing evils, but, in all time to come, avoid the perils of similar agitation, by withdrawing the question of Slavery from the halls of Congress and the political arena, and committing it to the arbitration of those who were immediately interested in, and alone responsible for, its consequences. With a view of conforming their action to what they regard as the settled policy of the Government, sanctioned by the approving voice of the American people, your Committee have deemed it their duty to incorporate and perpetuate, in their Territorial bill, the principles and spirit of those measures. If any other consideration were necessary to render the propriety of this course imperative upon the Committee, they may be found in the fact that the Nebraska country occupies the same relative position to the Slavery question, as did New Mexico and Utah, when those Territories were organized.

"It was a disputed point, whether Slavery was prohibited by law in the country acquired from Mexico. On the one hand, it was contended, as a legal proposition, that Slavery, having been prohibited by the enactments of Mexico, according to the laws of nations, we received the country with all its local laws and domestic institutions attached to the soil, so far as they did not conflict with the Constitution of the United States; and that a law either protecting or prohibiting Slavery, was not repugnant to that instrument, as was evidenced by the fact that one-half of the States of the Union tolerated, while the other half prohibited, the institution of Slavery. On the other hand, it was insisted that, by virtue of the Constitution of the United States, every citizen had a right to remove to any Territory of the Union, and carry his property with him under the protection of law, whether that property consisted of persons or things. The difficulties arising from this diversity of opinion, were greatly aggravated by the fact that there were many persons on both sides of the legal controversy, who were unwilling to abide the decision of the courts on the legal matters in dispute; thus, among those who claimed that the Mexican laws were still in force, and, consequently, that Slavery was already prohibited in those Territories by valid enactment, there were many who insisted upon Congress making the matter certain, by enacting another prohibition. In like manner, some of those who argued that Mexican law had ceased to have any binding force, and that the Constitution tolerated and protected slave property in those Territories, were unwilling to trust the decision of the courts upon the point, and insisted that Congress should, by direct enactment, remove all legal obstacles to the introduction of slaves into those Territories.

"Such being the character of the controversy in respect to the territory acquired from Mexico, a similar question has arisen in regard to the right to hold slaves in the Territory of Nebraska, when the Indian laws shall be withdrawn, and the country thrown open to emigration and settlement. By the 8th section of 'an act to authorize the people of Missouri Territory to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and to prohibit Slavery in certain Territories,' approved March 6th, 1820, it

was provided: 'That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by the act, Slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and are hereby, prohibited: *Provided always*, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the persons claiming his or her labor or service, as aforesaid.'

"Under this section, as in the case of the Mexican law in New Mexico and Utah, it is a disputed point whether Slavery is prohibited in the Nebraska country by *valid* enactment. The decision of this question involves the constitutional power of Congress to pass laws prescribing and regulating the domestic institutions of the various Territories of the Union. In the opinion of those eminent statesmen who hold that Congress is invested with no rightful authority to legislate upon the subject of Slavery in the Territories, the 8th section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri is null and void; while the prevailing sentiment in large portions of the Union sustains the doctrine that the Constitution of the United States secures to every citizen an inalienable right to move into any of the Territories with his property, of whatever kind and description, and to hold and enjoy the same under the sanction of law. Your Committee do not feel themselves called upon to enter upon the discussion of these controverted questions. They involve the same grave issues which produced the agitation, the sectional strife, and the fearful struggle of 1850. As Congress deemed it wise and prudent to refrain from deciding the matters in controversy then, either by affirming or repealing the Mexican laws, or by an act declaratory of the true intent of the Constitution, and the extent of the protection afforded by it to slave property in the Territories, so your Committee are not prepared to recommend a departure from the course pursued on that memorable occasion, either by affirming or repealing the 8th section of the Missouri act, or by any act declaratory of the meaning of the Constitution in respect to the legal points in dispute.

"Your Committee deem it fortunate for the peace of the country, and the security of the Union, that the controversy then resulted in the adoption of the Compromise Measures, which the two great political parties, with singular unanimity, have affirmed as a cardinal article of their faith, and proclaimed to the world as a final settlement of the controversy and an end of the agitation. A due respect, therefore, for the avowed opinions of senators, as well as a proper sense of patriotic duty, enjoins upon your Committee the propriety and necessity of a strict adherence to the principles, and even a literal adoption of the enactments of that adjustment, in all their territorial bills, so far as the same are not locally inapplicable. Those enactments embrace, among other things, less material to the matters under consideration, the following provisions:

"When admitted as a State, the said Territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union, with or without Slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission;

"That the legislative power and authority of said Territory shall be vested in the Governor and a Legislative Assembly;

"That the legislative power of said Territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation, consistent with the Constitution of the United States, and the provisions of this act; but no law shall be passed interfering with the primary disposal of the soil; no tax shall be imposed upon the property of the United States; nor shall the lands or other property of non-residents be taxed higher than the lands or other property of residents.

"Writs of error and appeals from the final decisions of said Supreme Court shall be allowed, and may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States in the same manner and under the same regulations as from the Circuit Courts of the United States, where the value of the property or amount in controversy, to be ascertained by the oath or affirmation of either party, or other competent witness, shall exceed one thousand dollars; except only that, in all cases involving title to slaves, the said writs of error or appeals shall be allowed and decided by the said Supreme Court, without regard to the value of the matter, property, or title in controversy; and except, also, that a writ of error or appeal shall also be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States from the decisions of the said Supreme Court by this act, or of any judge thereof, or of the district courts created by this act, or of any judge thereof, upon any writ of *habeas corpus* involving the question of personal freedom; and each of the said district courts shall have and exercise the same jurisdiction, in all cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States, as is vested in the circuit and district courts of the United States; and the said supreme and district courts of the said territory, and the respective judges thereof, shall and may grant writs of *habeas corpus*, in all cases in which the same are granted by the judges of the United States in the District of Columbia.

"To which may be added the following proposition, affirmed by the act of 1850, known as the fugitive slave law:

"That the provisions of the 'act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters,' approved February 12, 1793, and the provisions of the act to amend and supplementary to the aforesaid act, approved September 18, 1850, shall extend to, and be in force in, all the organized Territories, as well as in the various States of the Union.

"From these provisions, it is apparent that the Compromise Measures of 1850 affirm, and rest upon, the following propositions:

"*First.* That all questions pertaining to Slavery in the Territories, and the new States to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein, by their appropriate representatives, to be chosen by them for that purpose.

"*Second.* That 'all cases involving title to slaves,' and 'questions of personal freedom,' are to be referred to the adjudication of the local tribunals, with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

"*Third.* That the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, in respect to fugitives from service, is to be carried into faithful execution in all 'the original Territories,' the same as in the States.

"The substitute for the bill which your Committee have prepared, and which is commended to the favorable action of the Senate, proposes to carry these propositions and principals into practical operation, in the precise language of the Compromise Measures of 1850."

Out of this grew the Kansas war and the Republican party. Mr. Chase sought to prevent the introduction of Slavery into the Territory, and offered an amendment to that effect, which was voted down, 18 to 80. Mr. Dixon, of Kentucky, was in favor of repealing the Missouri Restriction in plain, independent terms, with a bold front; and, accordingly, in Committee, made the proposition plainly. As there was to be an end of historic faith, guaranteed by a compact, considered hitherto as fixed on the Constitution, the action of Mr. Dixon deserves to be signalized for its boldness, and is respectably compared to the sinuosity of Douglas. Less courage could not be expected of Kentucky; but as the departed senator of that gallant State, had given the country the Compromise of 1820 in question, it did grate harshly on the hearts of many to find the proposition to squelch this national sanction of more than thirty years, came from the same region. The North had yielded so much to the influence of Mr. Clay, had respected him so much for his early ambition to render Kentucky a free State, had so appreciated his efforts in favor of national manufactures, that it would have been less startling had the proposition come from any other region. After this action of Mr. Dixon, Mr. Douglas altered the main text of the bill by an amendment as follows:

"Which being inconsistent with the principles of non-intervention by Congress with Slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850 (commonly called the Compromise Measures), is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate Slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

And this was adopted, 35 to 10. In order to test the sincerity of this proposition, Mr. Chase offered an amendment, that "the people "of the Territory, through their appropriate representatives, may, "if they see fit, prohibit the existence of Slavery therein;" but this was voted down, 36 to 10, it being the intent, as events subsequently proved, to force Slavery into the Territories, irrespective of the will of a majority of the white citizens. An amendment offered by Mr. Chase, for the prompt organization of a Territorial Government, empowering the people to choose their own governor and Territorial

Legislature, was promptly voted down by the oligarchs, 80 to 10. An amendment by Mr. Chase to have but one Territory, named Nebraska, was voted down, 84 to 8. An amendment to prevent emigrant aliens, who have declared their intention of becoming citizens, from voting, was passed by an oligarchic majority, Atchison among them: this amendment afterward was very prudently reconsidered, and stricken out, Atchison reversing his vote. It was intended to prevent the German vote, but the Irish democratic had to be conciliated; so the Atchison conspirators against liberty were forced to retire from this step as rather too bold. After much debate, on the 3d of March, the Nebraska-Kansas bill was passed in the Senate, 37 to 14.

In the House, a bill, equivalent to that of Mr. Douglas, was offered by Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, Chairman of the Committee on Territories. Much debate ensued, and the friends of freedom exerted themselves to the utmost to set it aside. All amendments to the bill were ultimately defeated, by a vote striking out the enacting clause. Finally, Mr. Richardson moved an amendment as a substitute for the entire bill, being about the same thing as the Senate bill, which was passed, 116 to 90, and this concurred in by the Senate, May 24th, by a vote of 35 to 13. Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, voted, although from a Slave State, against the iniquitous measure; so did Clayton, of Delaware. Mr. Pierce, elected by the South, which had rejected Mr. Van Buren, of course, did the work of his employers, and signed the bill.

The Nebraska and Kansas Act defined the boundaries of a Territory called Nebraska; provided that it, or any portion of the same, could join the Union with or without Slavery in its State Constitution; that Congress retain the power, if deemed necessary, of subdividing the territory or attaching any portion of it to any other State or Territory; that the rights of the Indian tribes be respected; that the executive power be vested in a Governor for four years, unless sooner removed by the President; that a Secretary be appointed for five years; that the legislative power and authority be vested in a Governor and Legislative Assembly; the latter to consist of a Council of thirteen, holding their seats for two years, and House of Representatives of twenty-six, capable of being increased to thirty-

nine, with the augmentation of voters, and to sit for one year; that the Governor, previous to the election, order a census to be taken, appoint the persons to superintend the election, and declare the number of members of the Council and House to which each of the counties and districts is entitled; that every free white male inhabitant, above twenty-one, can vote at the first election, and if of foreign birth, must have declared his intentions on oath of becoming a citizen; that executive and judicial officers be appointed, and courts instituted; that the Fugitive Slave law be sustained; that a Territorial attorney be appointed; that certain salaries be paid; that a delegate to Congress be elected; that public buildings be erected; that a school-fund from the public lands be created; with some other provisions. The bill then defined the boundaries of Kansas, and applied the same provisions for its Territorial management.

This measure was suddenly brought about, there being no agitation of the question on the assembling of Congress. It was regularly agreed upon to force Slavery into Kansas, by means of thousands of armed and desperate men, introduced from Missouri, known since as "Border-Ruffians," who were joined by adventurers from other quarters, regardless of liberty or law. The conspirators were emboldened to the uttermost, backed by a majority in Congress, and a President, a tool of the slave power, appointing none but those supposed to be sworn to uphold the oligarchs. The North had bowed and deferred so long, that the slaveholders thought there was not courage enough to save Kansas to freedom. Visions of Sharp's rifles and Ossawatimie Brown had not come over them; but in the language of the slaveholding press, "a southron, with a lady's riding-whip, could scatter a whole crowd of abolitionists;" a statement not realized in Kansas or at Harper's Ferry.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE KANSAS OUTRAGES, AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

THE work of the slaveholding majority at Washington was now deemed complete, so far as legislation was involved. It only remained for fraud and force in the Territory of Kansas to match the infamy of such edicts. The desperate men on the frontier of Missouri, and their coadjutors from other parts, being incited so by Congress, began their invasions of Kansas, in view of the elections, under the Territorial organization just recited. The letters written thence, and not the least, those by a class of gentlemen whose facts, gleaned in the face of omnipresent danger—the special correspondents of newspapers—gave the public and Congress for its speeches, a true idea of the monstrous acts of the invaders, of the wide-spread murder, arson, and manifold violence and brutality committed—crimes which were peerless in our history, the motive considered: that of dooming a new land, and through it the vast expanse of other western territory, to hopeless Slavery. It required the villainy and cruelty which the slave-system alone can engender, to evolve such a combined system of murderous attack: but these ruffians believed that the President and a majority in Congress were their friends and supporters, forgetting, however, that public indignation would sweep the northern traitors in Congress to their appropriate obscurity; and that the spirit of the North, of private citizens alone, would prove an overmatch for the national executive and the legislative majority. Though the statements regarding the colossal crimes of the border-ruffians in Kansas were made by citizens there of the highest character, clergymen and others, including official personages, yet, in addition, there exists the sworn testimony given by many people before a Congressional Committee. On the 19th of March, 1856, the House of Representatives, in reference to the Kansas elections, empowered a Committee to send for persons and papers. This Committee were



to make full investigation of all violent and tumultuous proceedings; and the President was requested to furnish them any military force necessary to resist lawless men, in the process of their investigations. The vote for this Committee was 101 to 98; all the representatives from the Free States, except 17, voted Aye, and the remainder was from the slave States, and of course No; the oligarchs being determined to squelch inquiry, and make falsehood aid high crime, committed broad-cast throughout Kansas. This Committee went to Kansas and spent several weeks in taking testimony, which occupied an immense volume of twelve hundred large and closely printed pages; this was summed up on their return by Messrs. Howard and Sherman, the majority. The chief points in summing up are as follows: When the act to organize the Territory was passed, in May, 1854, the greater portion of its eastern border was included in Indian reservations, not open for settlement, and there were but few white settlers in part of it. Its Indian population was rapidly decreasing; many emigrants were awaiting the extinction of the Indian titles; undisturbed, it would have been rapidly and peacefully settled. Its climate, soil, and easy access to the older settlements would have made it the favored course for the tide of emigration constantly flowing to the West; and by 1856 it would have had sufficient population to enter the Union as a Free State. As such, it would have been on terms of kind feeling with Missouri. The people of western Missouri, as shown by the testimony, were, previous to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, indifferent to the prohibition of Slavery in the Territory, and neither asked nor desired its repeal. This measure of repeal, however, changed the whole aspect of affairs. Intense discussion of the Slavery question ensued. A few days after the organic law passed, leading citizens of Missouri crossed into the Territory of Kansas, held squatter-meetings, and then returned to their homes. Among their resolutions were the following: "That we will afford protection to no abolitionist as a settler in this Territory. That we recognize the institution of Slavery as already existing in this Territory, and advise slaveholders to introduce their property as early as possible." Similar resolutions were passed in various parts of the Territory and in counties of Missouri. Thus the first effect of the repeal of the restriction against Slavery

was to substitute the resolves of squatter-meetings, composed almost exclusively of citizens of a single State, for the deliberate action of Congress, acquiesced in for thirty-five years. Every election was controlled not by the actual settlers, but by citizens of Missouri, and, as a consequence, every officer in the Territory, from constables to legislators, except those appointed by the President, owed their position to non-resident voters. None were elected by settlers, and the Committee in question "were unable to find that any political power, however unimportant, had been exercised by the people of the Territory." In October, 1854, Governor A. H. Reeder and other officers, appointed by the President, arrived in the Territory. Settlers poured in in great numbers, making their claims, and building cabins. At that time and before any election could be held, secret societies, with cant names, bound by oaths, and with pass-words, signs, and grips, with lodges, written minutes, and an effective organization, were instituted by citizens of Missouri, and extended into other Slave States and into the Territory; the object being to introduce Slavery into Kansas and other Territories. Their plan was to organize and send men into Kansas to vote, paying their expenses, if necessary, and to induce Pro-Slavery men to migrate to the Territory. This conspiracy would have been able at the first election to overpower all the free settlers. The Committee had great difficulty in eliciting proof of these several orders; sufficient was disclosed, however, to establish the point.

The first election was for a delegate to Congress, appointed for the 29th of November, 1854. The Governor divided the Territory into seventeen election-districts, appointed judges, and prescribed proper rules for the election. In eight of the districts there appears to have been but little if any fraudulent voting. The election in the second district was held in the village of Douglas, nearly fifty miles from the Missouri line. Into this place large bodies of men from Missouri, in wagons and on horseback, came on the day of election. Two of the judges, appointed by the Governor, did not appear; others were elected by the crowd, and all then voted. In order to make a pretense of right to vote, some persons kept a pretended register of squatter claims, upon which any one could enter his name. A citizen of the district was told by one of the strangers that he would be

probably killed if he challenged a vote; he was seized, called opprobrious names, and compelled to seek protection in the room with the judges. When they had voted they mounted their horses, and got into their wagons, and cried out, "All aboard for Westport and "Kansas city!" A number were recognized as Missourians; among them Woodson, a leading lawyer of Independence. Of those whose names are on the poll-books of this second district, 85 were residents, and 226 non-residents.

This statement, officially made by the Committee of the House of Representatives, properly describes the fraud in one district, and details that in the others, which need not there be repeated. "This "mockery of an election" is summed numerically by the Committee, and shows this result as regards fraud: second district, 226 illegal votes; fourth, 131; fifth, 52; sixth, 80; seventh, 584; eleventh, 233; fourteenth, 50; fifteenth, 206; sixteenth, 162. Total illegal votes cast, 1,729, to 1,114 legal. Of the legal votes cast, Whitefield received a majority. Not one-half of the settlers showed interest in the election, or voted. This was accounted for from the fact that the settlements were scattered over a great extent; that the term of the delegate to be elected was short, and that the question of free or slave institutions was not generally regarded by them as distinctly at issue. The invasion, though it did not change the result, was "a "crime of great magnitude."

In January and February, 1855, the Governor of Kansas caused a census to be taken, from which it appeared that there were 2,005 voters; 151 negroes; 242 slaves; a total population of 8,501, of which 7,161 were natives of the United States. The Governor, so soon as the census was completed, ordered an election for members of the Legislative Assembly to be held on March 30, 1855. In view of the election, a vast body of armed Missourians, with provisions and tents, invaded Kansas. 4,068 illegal votes were cast to 1,310 legal. The border-ruffians had bowie-knives, pistols, guns, and rifles. The wretches overbore the judges of the polls, drew pistols and bowie-knives upon them and the citizens, and demeaned themselves in the most savage manner. The invasion of March left both parties, continues the Report to Congress, in a state of excitement, tending directly to produce violence. A mob destroyed a newspaper press,

The Parkville Luminary, in Western Missouri. Malcom Lee assaulted Cole McCrea, at a squatter meeting in Leavenworth, and was shot by McCrea, it was alleged in self-defence. William Phillips, a lawyer of Leavenworth, was first notified to leave, and upon his refusal, was forcibly seized, taken across the river and carried several miles into Missouri, and then tarred and feathered, and one side of his head shaved and other gross indignities put upon his person. The right of free discussion on the subject of Slavery was denounced by resolutions passed unanimously at a public meeting. A Committee of Vigilance of thirty was appointed, to force "Abolitionists" to leave the Territory. A legislature elected by such infamous fraud and violence the Committee of Congress pronounced as devoid of authority; destroying the organic law, and reducing the people of the Territory to the condition of vassals to a neighboring State. The laws made by this legislature were all for the interests of Slavery. Kidnapping a freeman and selling him into Slavery was punished with imprisonment not exceeding ten years; but, aiding a slave to escape was punished with death. No man could vote who did not take a test oath to uphold Slavery. No man opposed to slaveholding was eligible to sit on a jury in any case in which the right of holding slaves in Kansas was involved. Writing on the slave question unfavorably to its maintenance—"calculated to produce disorderly or rebellious disaffection among the slaves"—was punishable with imprisonment and hard labor for not less than ten years.

General Stringfellow, the border-ruffian chief, in a letter to The Montgomery Alabama Advertiser, used this language as to the character of the laws of the Territory in reference to Slavery:

"They have now laws more efficient to protect slave property than any State in the Union. These laws have just taken effect, and have already silenced Abolitionists; for, in spite of their heretofore boasting, they know they will be enforced to the very letter and with the utmost rigor. Not only is it profitable for slaveholders to go to Kansas, but politically it is all-important."

The newspaper of this person, The Squatter Sovereign, which received the patronage of the General Government, and was the organ of the Democratic party in Kansas, said:

"We are determined to repel this Northern invasion, and make Kansas a Slave State; though our rivers should be colored with the blood of their victims, and the carcasses of dead Abolitionists should be so numerous in the

Territory as to breed disease and sickness, we will not be deterred in our purposes. Let those who desire graves in Kansas engage in this unholy and unjust war against the extension of our beloved institution that is now being waged against the South by the fanatics of the North."

The people of Kansas next sought redress by electing delegates to a convention held at Topeka, to frame a State constitution, and for a memorial to Congress, asking admission into the Union under that constitution; and provided that the question of the adoption of the constitution and other questions be submitted to the people, and accordingly an election to this end was held on 15th December, 1855. 1,731 votes were cast for the constitution, and 46 against it. The Executive Committee named the 15th of January, 1856, for the election for State officers and members of the General Assembly of the State of Kansas. The election took place—Robinson was chosen Governor; A. H. Reeder was elected delegate to Congress. Murder and violence attended the elections. Dow was killed by Coleman; a horrid murder. Sheriff Jones, Atcheson, Lecompte and Stringfellow were particularly distinguished for violence. Thomas Barber was murdered. Many scenes of savage ferocity, exhibited by the Pro-Slavery men, are officially detailed.

President Pierce at first pretended he had no right to interfere in Kansas. This was effectively an invitation to chronic violence and murder on the part of the Border-Ruffians. When, however, the tide of free settlers, largely stimulated by the Emigrant-Aid Association, and the liberal introduction of the backwoodsman necessity, the rifle, had enabled the settlers to contest their ground against the land-pirates, and to take measures to organize a free government, then the President found it his duty to issue his proclamation in February, 1856, "of assuring immunity from violence, and full protection to the persons, property, and civil rights of all peaceable and law-abiding inhabitants of the Territory." The first result of this proclamation was to intensify the villainy of the Border-Ruffians. Lawrence was sacked; houses destroyed; printing presses broken up and kindred outrages practiced.

The manner in which the Southern States contributed their quota of armed men to stifle liberty in Kansas, is thus described by Ex-Governor Reeder, of Kansas, in his speech at the Broadway Tabernacle, in New York, on the 26th of August, 1856:

"These men landed there in the spring of 1855, the first detachment of them under the command of Col. Buford. Gentlemen in the South at the time, told me that these men resided among the idle vagabonds of the Southern cities, with drum and fife and promises of free expenses and free living upon the plains of Kansas, they were brought to that State; they were marched from the steamboat to the shore in military array; the articles were read to them, and by these articles they were bound to live under military organization; bound to fight their battles; bound to vote the Pro-Slavery ticket. From that time to this, with the exception of those who deserted from them, they have lived in camps, making no attempt at settlement, with a purely military life, roving over the face of the Territory, attacking men alone in their cabins, depriving them of their arms, waylaying them, allowing no man to travel back and forth except he has a pass from their leaders, or from some friend whom their leaders recognize. The citizens were not even allowed to procure the necessities of life, and no industrious settler could pass down to the City of Kansas, for the purpose of buying a load of provisions, without being arrested and robbed by these men. Man after man was robbed of his load and provisions, of his horses, and all the money that he happened to have in his pocket, and too frequently his body left cold and dead upon the ground. A gentleman who passed the camp of those ruffians at Battle Creek, upon the California road, saw seven bodies lying upon the ground. Lieut. Drum, of the U. S. Army, communicated to a friend of mine that in another place he found five murdered men, and consigned them to the earth. And add to this, that the bodies of men, murdered by those people, are found everywhere on their track, then you may have some idea of the state of things that existed while these men held the keys of the Territory."

The Rev. S. L. Adair was at Ossawatimie, when that place, with only forty Free-State men to defend it, was attacked by nearly four hundred of these ruffians. In a letter dated Ossawatimie, September 1, 1856, Mr. Adair says of the engagement, which made the name of John Brown, the leader, illustrious:

"The first thing I heard on Sunday morning was the sound of the feet of the horses of the advanced guard of our foes. They shot down a nephew of mine, who chanced to be in the road about 100 yards from my house. This was soon followed by a cousin of mine, an amiable Christian man, who was near, and tried to escape. He fled to the woods; horsemen pursued him and shot him. Another man was badly wounded near by. Soon, about four hundred, all mounted and armed, having also cannon, were seen formed in solid columns, on the high ground that commanded our village. The few families that the rumored invasion had not driven from their homes (a few had gone away and had again returned, thinking the alarms all false, for rumor had said they were coming for nearly two weeks,) fled to the woods for their lives. About forty Free-State men, armed, was all the force we had to repel them. About one hundred, who had been here for a few days, left on Thursday evening.

"The firing commences. The party, shielded partly by timber, stood until they had killed about each man one, and wounded as many more. They then fled; some of them had to swim the river—one was killed while crossing—one killed and two wounded on climbing up the bank. Loss on Free-State side, four killed and four wounded, two missing. Pro-Slavery loss uncertain. As near as we could learn they had about forty killed, and something over that number wounded."

The following is a private letter from the redoubtable Capt. Brown to his wife, on this event:

"LAWRENCE, Sept. 2, 1856.

"MY DEAR WIFE: Ossawatimie is all in ashes. The boys are safe, but our house is burned and the safe broken and robbed. Three Free-State men were wounded, and there were three wagon-loads of killed and wounded among the Pro-Slavery men. It was a desperate fight between thirty and forty Free-State men against three hundred Missourians. The whole country is now one desperate scene of fighting, plunder, robbery and murder, and scalping of Free-State men. Nearly 1000 Free-State men are in the field, and giving the Border Ruffians fight where they can find them; but, like all cowards, they do the work of darkness, or only attack when they have three to ten against one. They, in force of 400 to 800, fled before General Lane on Saturday and Sunday, refusing to fight, and leaving several loads of provisions on the field. Last week (Wednesday), at the battle of Middle Creek, six miles south of Ossawatimie, the Free-State men were victorious—got thirty horses and quantities of plunder. One Pro-Slavery man's leg was broken; others were wounded. A company of cavalry go down to Ossawatimie in the morning to bring up the families there, and I expect the boys up. I have been sick, but am now better. I have not a dollar in money. I shall stay here now. The United States troops will all be here to-morrow with the prisoners. No man can get out of the Territory now. It is fight or die with many of us. But death hath no terrors for our people. They rush to the battle as a hungry horse to his oats. Nothing can compare with the enthusiasm and courage of our people. A nobler set of fellows never graced a cause; never were gathered in an army. You see boys of sixteen and men of eighty carrying guns, camping on the prairies, and living on melons and green corn; making forced marches by day and night. One hundred and fifty have left this evening to make a forced march to save Topeka. They will probably have a fight on the way, as the Lecompton Pro-Slavery forces, 500 strong, are camped near the road. But they fear nothing. Their cause is just; their wrongs unnumbered. They are bound to defend their liberties to the death, and avenge their cause upon the enemy to the last. But enough. I am glad you are away from these scenes of strife and blood. I hope to see the boys in a day or two. What think you? A friend congratulated me upon having nothing left me in Kansas but the suit upon my back. I must close. Love to all. When Hoyt left his friends before he was murdered, he remarked, (it was in prospect of a shower,) 'The thunder meets my ear.'

"A sad farewell.—Yours,

"YOUR HUSBAND."

The committee decided against Whitfield, and for Reeder, as delegate. Reeder and Lane were chosen the first Senators from the State of Kansas to the United States Senate, and M. W. Delahay, Representative. Kansas, it is hardly necessary to say, has not been admitted as a free State, owing to the slaveholding majority in the Senate. President Buchanan has proved himself worthy of his authorship of the Piratical Ostend Manifesto, and sided always with the Border Ruffians, and their fraudulent, brutal efforts, to fasten Slavery on Kansas. He has announced in his messages that Slavery already exists there as much as it does in slave States. Rapid changes in the Territorial Governors of Kansas—Reeder, Stanton, Geary, Walker—who laid bare the villainies of her invaders, and the final imposition of Medary upon the people there, indicates the bad persistence of the Federal Executive.

The statements made to Congress of the crimes committed in Kansas, drew forth vehement discussion. Mr. Sumner, in the Senate, having made a speech on the subject, Mr. Douglas assailed him in a coarse, vulgar, unparliamentary style, and threatened him with retribution at the hands of Senator Butler, of South Carolina, then absent, when he should take his seat. The meaning of this threat was evident. But Mr. Brooks, a member from that State, and relative of Mr. Butler, while Mr. Sumner was sitting at his desk writing, the Senate not being in session at the time, attacked him, striking him with a heavy cane, and knocking him senseless. Mr. Brooks was attended by two friends; the party were armed, and as it afterward appeared, ready to shoot any one interfering. Mr. Sumner being down, was rescued by Mr. Crittenden and others. This deed was hailed with ecstasy throughout the South, and Mr. Brooks, upon his journey homeward, met with lively demonstrations, and at home with a presentation of gifts therefor. In the North, except among the dependents of the Government, and the lowest vulgar, the assault was received with astonishment and horror. The majesty of Massachusetts and of Freedom were stricken down together. The indignation excited by this event assisted to intensify and strengthen the Republican sentiment and action for the canvass of 1856. Mr. Sumner was long an invalid, but recently returned from Europe, retook his seat, to which he had been reelected, and again spoke unreservedly against the slave-power. The Republicans, however, now are morally and numerically strengthened, and are no longer overborne by threats of violence or duels. It required courage like that of Giddings, Wilson, Burlingame, Potter, and others, to stem the current, and establish a new position.

Every election in Kansas, since 1854, when not crushed by border ruffianism, has been on the side of freedom. The people rejected by an overwhelming vote that stupendous fraud called the Lecompton Constitution. Nevertheless, Medary vetoed an act of the Territorial Legislature, excluding Slavery. The attempt to fasten a Border Ruffian Constitution on Kansas—to kill the patient instead of letting him die—led to a split in the Democratic party. Douglas seeing the North aroused, and inflexible for liberty, decided that it was against the will of the majority—it was not popular or squatter sovereignty



—and took issue with the President. For this Douglas was recently rejected at the Charleston Democratic Presidential Convention, and the extreme slave party, a portion of which is for immediately opening the slave-trade with Africa, afterward set up Breckinridge. These facts show the inevitable results of the march of the slave power, the resistance engendered, and the virtue of an avenging Nemesis.

In 1856, the extemporized Republican party was defeated through fraudulent votes in Pennsylvania, and would have triumphed but for executive corruption, afterward sanctioned by President Buchanan, as will be shown in these pages. That party has held steadily to its original principles, declared at the Philadelphia Convention, not to interfere with Slavery in the States, but not to let it enter the Territories. On this issue it elected its Speaker in the House, and all the tendencies are now in its favor. The overwhelming majority against it in the Senate will be changed: soon there is every reason to believe the Republican force in that puissant body will reach thirty-two votes, preparatory to its absolute preponderance.



## CHAPTER XV.

### THE STATE LAWS FOR SLAVERY.

THE laws for Slavery, terrific as they are, exhibit, it will be conceded, not the most harsh and cruel attributes of the system; for experience, wide and patent, shows that the individual despotism—engendered by it according to Jefferson, Pinckney, and other southern authorities—and the wrath of mobs and committees of vigilance, overreach in atrocity even the code of the masters.

The following are the radical provisions of the slave code, the whole being baseless—baseless in regard to law establishing Slavery, for none exists, as even Mr. Mason, author of the new Fugitive Slave law, acknowledged; baseless, too, as respects the Common Law, which disavows murder and piracy, as it rejects their fruit.

*First.* No marriage can exist between the slaves; there are, therefore, as many prostitutes as enslaved women, and paramours as enslaved men. This ghastly fact applies to all the southern States, and to four million slaves.

*Second.* As there is no law for husband and wife, there is none for parent and child, and Slavery being hereditary and perpetual, they may be torn asunder as though God had denied them heart, sense, and soul.

*Third.* The slave can, by law, acquire no property; all that he earns, belongs by law, to his master.

*Fourth.* The slave is by law not a human being but a chattel personal, as a horse, mule, ox, or dog; and may always be disposed of as a chattel, and mortgaged, or leased as such.

*Fifth.* This liability to be sold places him at the mercy of the creditors of his master, whether the debts be considerably or desperately contracted, and extends to the action of executors on the decease of the master.

*Sixth.* No amount of cruelty inflicted upon him entitles the slave to redemption, and the testimony of a slave is not taken against a master, or any white person, under any circumstances.

*Seventh.* The nature and amount of labor, and the food and raiment of the slave, are determined by the master.

*Eighth.* The master may recover damages done to the slave as property, but the slave has no redress.

*Ninth.* The slave being denied will and affection can make no contract of business or sentiment.

*Tenth.* The slave has no right to free himself by any industry, talent or moral nobleness.

*Eleventh.* The slave is denied education, and religious instruction is discountenanced by law.

*Twelfth.* The punishment of slaves is severer for crimes than that of whites, and general submission to the whites as a class is exacted.

*Thirteenth.* These laws are matched by enactments or practices touching the liberty of speech and action of the non-slaveholding whites in the slave States, the poor, unlettered masses there being cognate in degradation with those actually in bonds.

Let us compare the modern with the ancient code, as summed up

by Dr. Taylor in his Elements of Civil Law; this latter code being softened eventually under the later emperors.

"Slaves were held *pro nullis, pro mortuis, pro quadrupedibus*; they had no head in the State; no name, title, or register; they were not capable of being injured, nor could they take by purchase or descent; they had no heirs, and, therefore, could make no will; exclusive of what was called their *peculium*, whatever they acquired was their master's; they could not plead or be pleaded for, but were excluded from all civil concerns whatever. They could not claim the indulgence of absence *reipublicæ causa*: they were not entitled to the rights and considerations of matrimony, and, therefore, had no relief in case of adultery; nor were they proper subjects of cognation and affinity, but of quasi-cognition only; they could be sold, transferred, or pawned as goods or personal estate, for goods they were, and such they were esteemed; they might be tortured for evidence, punished at the discretion of their lord, or even put to death by his authority."

Add Lynch-law to the code, and we find southern Slavery equal in cruelty, and surpassing in meanness the ancient system: the *peculium* of the ancient slave has no legal existence in the slave States. Christianity, according to the South-side view, has found a lower deep of codified robbery.

Judge Ruffin, of North Carolina, in the case of *The State against Mann*, thus describes southern Slavery.

"The end is the profit of the master, his security and the public safety. The subject is one doomed in his own person and posterity to live without knowledge, and without the capacity to make anything his own, and to toil that another may reap the fruits. Such services can only be expected from one who has no will of his own; who surrenders his will in implicit obedience to that of another. Such obedience is the consequence only of uncontinued authority over the body. There is nothing else which can operate to produce the effect. The power of the master must be absolute to render the submission of the slave perfect. In the actual condition of things it must be so. There is no remedy. This discipline belongs to the state of Slavery. They cannot be disunited without abrogating at once the rights of the master and absolving the slave from his subjection. It constitutes the curse of Slavery to both the bond and free portion of our population; but it is inherent in the relation of both master and slave."

The law of Louisiana, Civil Code, Article XXV., condenses the subject thus:

"A slave is one who is in the power of the master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor; he can do nothing, nor possess nothing, nor acquire anything, but what must belong to his master."

Judge Stroud, in his invaluable compendium of the Laws of Slavery, summarily disposes of such as attempt to mitigate the master's cruelty, by showing, that in no instances is a slave's evi-

dence taken against a master or overseer, or any white man. Not even against an overseer, who, in the language of Mr. Wirt, of Virginia, in his Life of Patrick Henry, is thus described: "Last and lowest, a feculum of beings called overseers, the most abject, degraded, unprincipled race, always cap in hand to the dons who employ them, and furnishing ample materials for the exercise of their pride, insolence, and love of domination." The punishment for killing a slave in South Carolina, is a proper commentary on the southern system as regards the legal protection of the slave: "If any person shall, on a sudden heat or passion, or by undue correction, suddenly kill his own slave, or the slave of any other person, he shall forfeit the sum of three hundred and fifty pounds, current money." The penalty is now diminished to \$500. The murder of a slave is compensated for by \$500 damages, provided a white witness can be found, to warrant such punishment. In Alabama such killing is murder in the second degree, always provided the white witness be found, and the juries independent of the prejudices of caste, or the warpings of Lynch-law. Cruelty inflicted with whipping, ironing, or imprisonment, is thus established by the Christian legislation of South Carolina:

"In case any person shall willfully cut out the tongue, put out the eye, or cruelly scald, burn, or deprive any slave of any limb or member, or shall inflict any other cruel punishment, other than by whipping or beating with a horse-whip, cowskin, switch or small stick, or by putting in irons, or confining or imprisoning such slave, every such person shall for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds currency."

This is, practically, license to commit as much cruelty as the master may desire, with whips and irons, without penalty; and damages for mayhem, provided always there is a witness. The Mississippi code makes \$500 the penalty for cruel and unusual punishments; but what is cruel or unusual? Moreover, as "a slave is not capable of being injured," the damages are never awarded to him. In a word, the relation of master and slave being *contra naturam*, legalized justice is as impossible as mercy.

The difference between the punishments inflicted upon whites and slaves, for the same crimes or offences, in the State of Virginia, for example, is this: Four crimes carry the death penalty, in the laws for the whites. Sixty-eight crimes or offences, carry the death pen-

alty for the slaves. When the shootings and stabbings among the citizens, called "difficulties," not punished, or meeting with a mitigated verdict, are considered; and the remorseless manner in which slaves are hung, for indulging in the same knightly propensities, the contrast becomes still more sickening and dismal.

The food of the slave may be judged from the Louisiana code:

"Every owner shall be held to give his slaves the quantity of provisions hereinafter specified, to wit: One barrel of Indian corn, or the equivalent thereof, in rice, beans, or other grain, and a pint of salt, and to deliver the same, to the said slaves in kind, every month, and never in money, under a penalty of a fine of ten dollars for every offence."

North Carolina is not near so liberal as this in quantity, but equally illustrious as regards quality; and, excepting South Carolina and Georgia, which generalize against short-commons in their slave code, everything in the gastronomic line, in all the other Slave States, is left to the discretion of the master. As to clothing, the provisions are equally munificent in Louisiana, which, provided the slave be not allowed to cultivate a lot of ground on his own account, affords its French fashions for him thus: *une chemise et une culotte de toile*—a whole shirt, and pair of trowsers, for summer wear—and the same for winter, a great coat thrown in. Upon the subject of the modes, Saxendom, down South, is discreetly silent, except in the Carolinas, where the unknown quantity of enough is legally required—the slave not allowed to testify upon this or unknown quantity; and in Georgia, where the clothing, as well as the food *minus*, and the work *plus*, must be such as not to injure or impair the slave's health; the slave again not being allowed to testify.

The statute-law for curbing the whites of the South, who have no interest in Slavery, but would be socially emancipated by its discontinuance, are of the same iron texture with those dealing death to the slave. For example, in the Revised Code of Louisiana, "Imprisonment at hard labor, for not less than three years nor more than twenty-one years, or death, at the discretion of the Court," is the penalty for free speech, or print, "which has a tendency to produce discontent among the colored population." Here is the law:

"Whoever shall make use of language in any public discourse, from the bar, the bench, the stage, the pulpit, or in any place whatsoever, or whoever shall make use of language in private discourses or conversations, or shall make use

of signs or actions having a tendency to produce discontent among the free colored population of this State, or to excite insubordination among the slaves, or whoever shall knowingly be instrumental in bringing into this State any paper, pamphlet, or book having such tendency as aforesaid, shall, on conviction thereof before any court of competent jurisdiction, suffer imprisonment at hard labor not less than three years nor more than twenty-one years, or death, at the discretion of the court."

Such a law is appropriate to Slavery, and its spirit was logically transferred to Kansas, and would be to every Territory, not saved for freemen on free farms: rigidly construed, it carries the death penalty for circulating the Declaration of Independence, which takes liberty or Anti-Slavery as its base; or the Constitution of the United States, whose first phrase is concordant with that revolutionary instrument; or the writings of the leading Southern statesmen against human bondage; or even the speech in 1832, before the Virginian Legislature, of the present Minister to France.



## CHAPTER XVI.

### BURNING HUMAN BEINGS ALIVE AT THE STAKE.

As the slaves augment, while their chances of escape and incentives to restlessness multiply through steam travelling and the increased intercourse with the Free States, stringent measures for keeping them in subjection, outside even the horrible slave-code, become more common. Among these, preëminent for savage cruelty, stands the growing custom of burning men at the stake. The poor wretches, born of forced prostitution, unable to read or write, being kept in dark ignorance, denied the rank of human beings, and pronounced chattels, are logically not amenable to law; but notwithstanding, are subject not only to the demoniac statutes but to lynch-law, such as is without parallel in the nineteenth century. That such burnings are inevitable under the system, is not to be disputed; and so no special indignation should be expressed in regard to them, or any other forms of savage punishment included.

It is difficult to reach the facts regarding plantation horrors, the

dissemination of intelligence in the South being comparatively so limited. But enough is known to warrant the affirmation, that burning slaves alive for "crimes," is to some extent systematically pursued in the South, although there is no such punishment on the statute-book. The journals North, have published from time to time, such accounts of these roastings as escaped into the circle of publicity; but yet, notwithstanding, the following debate took place in the House of Representatives, on the 7th March, 1860, as reported in *The Congressional Globe* of the 8th:

"Mr. VAN WYCK.—Sir, I will indulge in no unkind remark to wound the feelings of any man, but the charge must be met, and history vindicated, let the consequences fall where and as they may. One other gentleman spoke of Massachusetts burning witches in the ancient times. Does he not know that your own people burn slaves at the stake, and it seems to waken no horror in your minds.

"Mr. DAVIS, of Miss. (interrupting)—I pronounce the gentleman a liar and scoundrel. I pronounce the gentleman's assertion false—utterly false.

"Mr. VAN WYCK.—My time is short, and I hope not to be interrupted.

"Mr. DAVIS, of Miss.—You have no right to utter such foul and false slanders.

"Mr. GARTRELL.—I rise to a point of order. It is that no member upon this floor has a right to libel the people of any section of this country, and then deny to the representatives of that people the right to reply. I pronounce the assertion made by the gentleman false and founded.

"(Cries of "Order" on the Republican side.)

"Mr. VAN WYCK.—I have heard such words before, and I am not to be disturbed nor interfered with by any blustering of that sort. I am not here to libel any part of the Union.

"Mr. DAVIS (Miss.)—Will you go outside the District of Columbia and test the question of personal courage with any Southern man?

"Mr. VAN WYCK.—I travel any where, and without fear of any one. For the first eight weeks of this session you stood upon this floor, continually libeling the North, and the people of the Free States, charging them with treason and all manner of crimes; and now you are thrown into a great rage when I tell you a few facts."

The debate on slave-burning had its origin, as may be seen, in the assertion by a member,—that Massachusetts burned witches centuries since. But even this off-set to the barbarities of the South in the nineteenth century is wanting, for Massachusetts put witches to death not by burning. But in proof of the accuracy of Mr. Van Wyck's statement, that the South does now burn slaves alive, the following cases are on record. The *Union Springs Gazette* of Alabama, of the 13th January, 1859, gives an account of the burning of a slave for murdering his master, said to be kind and humane:

"The deceased has the reputation of having, even to fault, ever been a kind and humane master. On the day before the murder, Mr. J. had whipped this

boy, Milford, or had him whipped, for some misdemeanor, and had him chained or locked till Monday morning, when he went to him, took off his chain, and told him to 'go to the mill and go to work.' The boy made some impudent reply, when Mr. J. told him if he did not stop his insolence he would knock him down with a lock, and turned to walk away. The boy then took an axe that was lying near and struck Mr. J. on the head, and knocked him down, dropped the axe and walked away a few steps, then turned and went back, took the axe and struck him three times more on the head, and retired a short distance and sat down, making no attempt to escape.

"A public meeting of the citizens, indiscriminately, was called on Wednesday, to determine what should be done with the negro, when the proposition was made to burn him alive, every one, to the number of 200 or 300, voting for it. That evening, at 3 o'clock, in the presence of 500 persons, he was chained to a tree and burned. Just before the fire was set, he confirmed the above statement in every particular. He stated also, that he had determined to kill his master some time before—that his having him whipped the day before had not instigated him to the brutal deed—that he had his knife open in his pocket to do the deed when his master should come to unfasten him, but his heart failed him; but that when he told him that if he did not stop his insolence he would knock him down, he proceeded to execute his fell purpose. The culprit ceased to show any signs of life two and half minutes from the time the torch was applied."

"The kind and humane master," according to the Southern journal, had the slave whipped and chained—kindness and humanity it would seem in the South, meaning whips and chains.

Another instance of slave burning is thus recited, the incentive for the murder committed by the slave, being the same as in the above, that of corporeal punishment; whether the master in this case was a model of kindness, is not related.

"On the first day of last year, 1859, at the annual negro sales at Troy (Ky.), Mr. James Calaway, the brother-in-law of one Simon B. Thornhill, who, it seems, had been murdered by a slave in revenge for some punishment, mounted a box in the street, and exhorted the people to do speedy justice upon the murderer, and closed by saying, 'All that feel as I do will follow me.' Eight hundred or a thousand followed him. They went to the jail, took out the prisoner, and in the jail-yard itself drove down a stake, to which they chained him hand and feet. Fine split wood was piled around him, and he was miserably burned to death. 'He gave,' says a correspondent of The Maysville (Ky.) Eagle, 'some of the most hideous screams I ever heard come from any human being.'"

The Philadelphia Bulletin, of April 11, 1860, presents this statement of a case in the present year:

"A SLAVE BURNED AT A STAKE.—The Vicksburg Sun has come in possession of the following facts in relation to the burning of a negro man at Mr. Woolfolk's plantation on Deer Creek. It seems that the negro thus summarily dealt with was a vicious, self-willed fellow, and becoming offended at a woman (black) on the same plantation, walked up to her as she was working in the field and deliberately plunged the knife into her breast. Upon perpetrating this bloody deed he fled to the woods, not, however, before giving several other



negroes to understand that their time would come next, and after them two white men living hard by. Dogs were put on his tracks, and after a chase of several hours he was captured, though not without a desperate struggle—the pursuers being put to all they knew to take him alive. The residents of the vicinity decided to burn him at the stake, which was done in the presence of all the negroes on that and several of the adjoining plantations, all of whom seemed terrified out of their wits on viewing so awful a scene. The spirit of the doomed negro never was subdued. He died cursing his judges—his last words being that he would ‘take vengeance on them when they met each other in —.’”

Mr. C. E. Fuller, of the State of Michigan, obtained from Mr. J. F. Norrell, the account of the burning of two slaves, in the township of Extra, in Ashley County, Arkansas, in September, 1857, one of the slaves having belonged to Mr. Norrell. They were suspected of murder and arson. Mr. Fuller says: “Ike (one of the ‘suspected’) was whipped nearly to death, in order to extort from ‘him a confession; but he persisted in denying any knowledge of ‘the affair. Mr. N. then poured on his bleeding back spirits of turpentine, and set it on fire.” Ike then confessed that he and a negro, named Jack, were guilty. The slaves were taken by “the ‘regulators,’ chained to stakes, and burnt to death “with fat pine “wood.” It is worthy of remark, that the considerate regulators took up a subscription, to indemnify the owners for the value of the slaves, so roasted by the supreme lynch-law of the South.

The Montgomery Alabama Mail thus speaks of a negro-burning fete, which was likely to come off on the 16th of March, of the present year, 1860. “We hear that it has now been ascertained who “committed the murder of Alfred Jones, on Saturday night, in this “county. It seems, that two or three days previous to this murder, “he gave one of his negroes, Adam, a whipping, and that the negro “then said, it would be the last one he would ever give him, “and persuaded another boy to hold his master’s horse, while he “knocked him on the head with an axe. The two negroes, we understand, will be burned to death on Friday, the 16th instant.”

The New York Times quotes the following:

“MURDER BY A SLAVE.—The Atlanta Georgia Intelligencer gives the substance of a letter from Hon. W. R. Nicholl, of Oglethorpe County, Georgia, detailing a horrible murder perpetrated by a negro, in the employ of Mr. Wm. P. Smith. Jim, the negro, was ordered by Mr. Smith to do a piece of work, which he refused to do, peremptorily. An altercation ensued, and Mr. Smith told the negro, if he wished to quarrel with him, to go to the house. The two started together, Mr. Smith walking in front. Just as he entered the gate, the

negro asked Mr. Smith what he intended to do with him. As he made no reply, the negro sprang upon him, and stabbed him sixteen times, jumping upon his victim as he fell. Mrs. Smith, with some negroes, who were in the house, witnessed the scene, and managed finally, to drag the murderer away. He fled to a straw-house, where he was captured the next morning. Mr. Smith died soon afterward. The people had determined to burn his murderer alive."

This is the case of which the following telegraphic report appeared in The Philadelphia Bulletin, of June 12, 1860, showing that the design of the lynch-legists had been put in execution.

" AUGUSTA, GA., June 12.

"MURDER OF A GEORGIA PLANTER BY HIS SLAVE—THE SLAVE BURNED AT A STAKE.—A man, named William Smith, a planter in Oglethorpe County, Georgia, was murdered by a slave on Saturday. The slave was captured, and burnt at a stake on Monday."

Referring to this case, The Atlanta Georgia Intelligencer says: "Mr. Smith had treated this negro with great kindness—had raised him, and never struck him a lick. He was, doubtless, demented, and instigated by the devil. His fate should be an awful warning to others of his color, who are alike ungrateful." If "demented" mean insane, this Georgia editor justifies the burning of an insane man.

The St. Louis Evening News, of the 14th of March, 1860, copies from a journal of that city, of the 22d of July, 1859, an account of the burning at the stake, by a mob, at Marshall, Saline County, Missouri, on the 19th of the latter month, of a negro, who had been condemned to be hung by the legal tribunal for the murder of a gentleman, named Hinton. He was taken by the mob from the sheriff, who was conveying him to prison, chained to a stake, dry wood was piled around, and he was burned to death. "As the flames gathered about his limbs and body, he commenced the most frantic shrieks and appeals for mercy—for death; he seized his chains, they were hot, and burned the flesh off his hands; he would drop and catch them again and again. There must have been upward of one thousand people present." The mob, at the same time, hung two other negroes whom they had taken out of jail.

The statute-book of the South, cruel as it is, does not meet the wants of the sovereign people there; so they break open jails, and burn and hang at pleasure.

The New York Tribune, of March 12, 1860, contained an account

of a slave-burning, in Charleston, S. C., upon the authority of the late John Parish, of Philadelphia, a preacher of the Society of Friends. His statement is, "That a slave was burnt to death, at a stake, in Charleston, surrounded by a multitude of spectators, some of whom were people of the first rank. The poor object was heard to cry, as long as he could breathe, 'Not guilty, not guilty!'" In reference to this case, a correspondent of another New York paper signing himself J. Jeffreys, states, that he was present at the burning, and justifies it, because the crime was the rape of a young lady, intrusted to the slave to take to school, for which he had been tried, and condemned to be hanged; the day, however, came for the execution, "but the people," says Mr. Jeffreys, "rose *en masse*, high and low, and determined that hanging was too good for him;" and gives a description of how the negro was chained to an iron bar, and roasted to death. "He lived," says Mr. Jeffreys, "about ten or twelve minutes, and caved in: and the cry was, 'Pile on the fagots; others ought to be served the same way, white or black.' "I would lend a hand to pile on the fagots for the same crime, in this enlightened day."

The New York Tribune, of April 21, 1860, contains the following:

CINCINNATI, OHIO, April 18, 1860.

"To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune:

"SIR: On the 18th of August last, I saw a negro hung by a mob, in Springfield, Mo. The cause of the lynching was an outrage committed upon the person of a lady residing near that city. On the same evening, a member of the Missouri Legislature, residing in Springfield, informed me that five years before he saw two negroes burned at the stake, in Jasper, one of the western counties in that State. He gave me full details of the affair, asserting that many slaves were brought in from the adjacent country to witness it; that the victims seemed to lose their consciousness immediately after the flame struck their faces, etc. I have every reason to believe that my informant is a reliable gentleman, and will cheerfully furnish his name to any one desiring it.

"A. D. RICHARDSON."

The Montgomery, Alabama, Herald, of a late date, contained the following: "WE THINK so too.—The Editors of The Hayneville, Alabama, Chronicle, very justly observes: 'It is questionable whether burning negroes by whites has any better effect than to brutalize the feelings of the community. Several have already been burned in Montgomery County, without, it seems, decreasing crime among them.'"

Here we have the authority of two Alabama newspapers, that several slaves have been roasted alive in one county. If that be taken as the average of the number of burnings through the South, the cases would number by thousands.

Nearly all the instances above cited, are recent. Others of older date could be given, for example:

About twenty years ago, an overseer in Goochland County, Virginia, was tried and imprisoned for having burned a slave to death.

In 1836, a freeman of color, named Macintosh, was burned at the stake at St. Louis, Missouri, by a mob who took him from the jail, and burned him alive in the presence of three thousand people. He was twenty minutes dying. He was steward of a steamboat, and his crime was the killing of a man who had arrested him on a charge of rescuing another freeman of color who was under arrest.

A correspondent of *The Cincinnati Herald*, in July, 1845, wrote to that paper an account of the burning of the house of an overseer, near Oakland Cottage, Mississippi, by slaves who had been emancipated by the will of their master, but were exasperated and desperate at being still held in bondage. A white child was burned to death in the overseer's house. The incendiaries, eight or nine in number, were seized by the neighbors, and two of them immediately hanged. The rest were chained to the floor of a log-house, and therein slowly roasted to death. This statement was extensively published in the papers at the time, and was not denied or refuted.

A correspondent of *The New Orleans Picayune*, writing from Jackson, Mississippi, 20th December, 1855, gave the account of a negro who was chained to a stake and burned alive for having attempted to commit a rape upon a young lady. The execution was at Lexington.

*The Montgomery, Alabama, Mail*, of April 3, 1856, says: "We learn, that the negro who murdered Mr. Capeheart, was burned to death yesterday at Mount Meigs. He acknowledged himself guilty."

In the *Travels in the South* of Dr. Parsons, of Boston, published in 1856, an account is copied by him from *The Sumter, Alabama, Whig*, of a then recent slave-burning in that county. The slave

Dave belonged to J. D. Thornton, and was accused of murdering a young lady. Thornton and his friends took the slave, by stratagem, from jail: "they left in high glee," says The Whig; "he was tied to a stake, with fat, light wood piled around him, and the torch was applied in the presence of two thousand persons." The Whig denied the rumors afloat, that Dave was tortured—burning alive not being considered torture in Alabama. Dr. Parsons also gives another instance which occurred not long before his visit to Georgia, the details of which he had from eye-witnesses. A slave, who had been cruelly whipped, wounded his mistress with a hatchet: he was given to the mob for punishment; they whipped him for five successive days, fifty lashes a day, and on a Sunday he was taken from the jail, stripped naked, and tied by his hands to the limb of a large oak-tree, near the court-house. A fire of hard pine shavings was then kindled beneath him, and while burning to death, he was stabbed and cut by knives fastened to poles, the executioners shouting that this was the punishment of every slave who would murder his mistress. Ten thousand people were present at this scene, which took place in 1855.

John Kingsley, of Portsmouth, Ohio, published a statement on the 7th of January, 1857, of the burning at the stake of a negro, which he witnessed the preceding week in Carter County, Kentucky. The victim was the slave of William McMinnis. He was suspected of planning an insurrection, and before being burned received two hundred lashes to extort a confession, which he did not make.

It will thus be seen, that lynch-law is universal in the South, and will not wait for the hangman, but executes punishment of a kind utterly unknown to Christendom elsewhere, and supposed to pertain alone to the cruelties of past ages. Such atrocities in the nineteenth century, belong exclusively to Slave States, and to the aboriginal savages only. They are a part of the system, and cannot be dissociated therefrom.

Are they not reasons for restricting Slavery within its present limits, covering, as it does, nearly two-thirds of the surface of the States, and threatening with blood and fire, to spread itself to the Pacific?

## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE IMPOVERISHED PEOPLE AND SOIL OF THE SOUTH.

THE number of slaveowners in the South was estimated once loosely in millions, in concordance with the gross white population. The national census of 1850, besides other incisive facts, showed that the entire body of the slaveowners was but 847,525. Of these, the larger proprietors, or the oligarchy, dictating politics, is estimated to be between only 60,000 and 90,000. The entire white population of the South was 6,222,418. How small a proportion of the Southern people have effectually a voice in the State and federal politics of the South may be judged. Of the condition of the overwhelming majority of the whites, South, called poor whites, and even an opprobrious cant term being applied to them, we have ample evidence from Southern authorities. Mr. Olmstead, of New York, in his Journey to and through Texas, treating of society, South, speaks of a "devilish, "undisguised and recognized contempt for all humbler classes. It "springs from their relations with slaves, 'poor whites,' and trades-people, and is simply incurable." It is incontestable that the line between these masses and the great land and slaveowners is trenchantly drawn. The statute law of Louisiana even speaks of the necessary respect to different classes of society. This practical contempt of poor white men is a necessary accompaniment of the creed now shaping all Southern oligarchic politics, and declaring that the capitalist must own the laborer, white as well as black. That there is to be an uprising of these white masses, with an assertion of their proper rank in the political and social scale, is anticipated. Mr. J. H. Taylor, of South Carolina, in an article on Southern manufactures, sounds a note of alarm to that State, blessed with a legislature composed of men, each owning \$10,000 worth of "skillful mechanics and prime field-hands," or their equivalent in five hundred broad acres. He says: "They are fast learning that there is an almost "infinite world of industry opening before them, by which they can "elevate themselves from wretchedness and ignorance to competence and intelligence. It is this great upheaving of our masses "that we have to fear, so far as our institutions are concerned."

Well stated. *Fas est*: the competence and intelligence of the masses depend on the restriction, and finally, the squelching of a system which despises labor and appropriates its wages. Mr. Taylor has apprehended essential statesmanship; his mode of presenting it was adapted to the atmosphere which punishes freedom of speech with many stripes, and has death in reserve to meet extreme cases. Mr. William Gregg, of South Carolina, favors manufactures for the "poor white people, wholly neglected, and suffered to while away an existence but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest." This is the residuum of Mr. Calhoun's sublime theory of government, so far as it can be carried out in South Carolina. Governor Hammond, of that State, is equally complimentary to the vast body of his fellow-citizens there: "They obtain a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or folds, and, too often, by what is in its effects far worse—trading with slaves, and seducing them to plunder for their benefit." The Hon. J. H. Lumpkin, of Georgia, hazards this assertion: "But I am by no means ready to concede that our poor, degraded, half-fed, half-clothed and ignorant population—without Sabbath-schools or any other kind of instruction, mental or moral, or without any just appreciation of character—will be injured by giving them employment, which will bring them under the oversight of employers, who will inspire them with self-respect by taking an interest in their welfare."

Testimony to any extent could be exhibited that the poor whites of the South are just as these eminent authorities of that region, daguerreotyping them on the spot, represent them. By the census of 1850, the number of whites of native birth, who were unable to read and write in certain States, is as follows:

STATES.	WHITES.	UNABLE TO READ AND WRITE.
New England States, .....	2,909,661 ..	6,209
New York, .....	2,393,101 ..	23,240
Alabama, .....	419,006 ..	33,618
Arkansas, .....	160,721 ..	16,792
Kentucky, .....	730,012 ..	64,340
Missouri, .....	615,434 ..	34,420
Virginia, .....	871,847 ..	75,868
North Carolina, .....	650,413 ..	73,226
South Carolina, .....	266,065 ..	15,580
Georgia, .....	615,120 ..	40,794
Tennessee, .....	751,193 ..	77,017

The difference between the intelligence of New England and the Slave States, is that between civilization and barbarism.

This ignorance of the white man rivalling the slave, engenders a desperate style of agriculture. Mr. Olmstead, a practical farmer, says, in

A LETTER TO A SOUTHERN FRIEND:

"You may think it too soon to form a judgment of any value upon the prosperity of Texas, as measured by the other criterion I proposed, namely, 'the completeness with which the opportunity for profitable labor is retained.' But what do you say to the fact that in 'the eastern counties that spectacle so familiar and so melancholy in your own State, in all the older Slave States, is already not unfrequently seen by the traveller—an abandoned plantation of worn-out fields, with its little village, now a home only for wolves and vultures? This but indicates a large class of observations, by which I hold myself justified in asserting that the natural elements of wealth in the soil of Texas will have been more exhausted in ten years, and with them the rewards offered by Providence to labor will have been more lessened than, without Slavery, would have been the case in two hundred. Do not think I use round numbers carelessly. After two hundred years' occupation of similar soils by a free laboring community, I have seen no such evidence of waste as, in Texas, I have after ten years' of Slavery. And indications of the same kind I have observed, not isolated but general, in every State but two—which I have seen only in parts yet scarcely at all settled. Moreover, I have seen similar phenomena following Slavery in other countries and other climates."

Parallel opinions to excess could be afforded, showing that the desolations of Slavery are destroying the earth's fecundity, the same now as those which ruined ancient empires. One more, however, will only be given, that of the brilliant Ex-Governor Wise, of Virginia, who thus gives a commentary on the effects of Slavery on the soil and people of that State.

After deploring the death of commerce in Virginia, and that manufactures were never born there, Mr. Wise says:

"You have no commerce, no mining, no manufactures. You have relied on the single power of agriculture, and such agriculture! Your sedge-patches outshine the sun. Your inattention to your only source of wealth, has seared the very bosom of mother-earth. Instead of having to feed cattle on a thousand hills, you have had to chase the stump-tailed steer through the sedge-patches to procure a tough beef-steak. The present condition of things has existed too long in Virginia. The landlord has skinned the tenant, and the tenant has skinned the land, until all have grown poor together."

The eminent Chief Justice Read, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, says:

"In the South, no large cities call for free white mechanical or other labor, and the interior is virtually closed to all free white labor by the wealthy slave-



owner, who employs only his white overseers and his black slaves, whether in the labor of the field, the house, the shop, and even in the manufactory. In a southern State, all free white male, and in some places female, inhabitants are liable to do patrol duty, that is, to watch over the slaves of their rich neighbors, and they are called out at least once a fortnight, and may correct with stripes, all slaves infringing the slave regulations in the slightest particular. Does any free white man with his family and their labor think of going to South Carolina, the headquarters of southern Slavery? If this be so, why should such a system be tolerated for a moment in territory now free, and thus exclude the native Pennsylvanian, or the hardy emigrant from Europe, from settling in the far West. The introduction of Slavery is the permanent exclusion of the white freeman and white free labor."

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

### COMPARATIVE WEALTH OF FREE AND SLAVE STATES.

THE southern States have the advantage of richer soils and shorter winters than the northern, but, nevertheless, have steadily declined, either in actual or comparative resources. While the North has great cities, and ripened, elegant industry, the South is without either, and relies, to a proverb, on her neighbors for mechanical and artistic works, affecting the while to despise the pursuits of a people, whose superb impetuosity in the race of civilization, has done more for New England in two hundred years, than has been achieved in two thousand, in the old lands of Europe. From the crib to the coffin, the planter looks to the artisan of the Free States; and the sad dependence of her "Roman population" upon "the ingenious and parasitical Greeks" of the North, is a uniform homily at her commercial conventions—those facetious, impracticable, but ever-recurring congresses.

Against such cities as New York and Philadelphia, the great pioneer State of Virginia, it is to be deeply regretted, owing to her devotion to Slavery, can only show the decayed Norfolk, with 9,075 inhabitants; and South Carolina, for a like reason, presents Charleston with but 20,012; and Georgia, Savannah, with 8,395.

The reduction of much land, in a brief period of time, to the purposes of civilization, by a scattered population, has stimulated mechanical ingenuity, in the manufacture of labor-saving machinery

and utensils, to a degree, that neither positive calculation nor ideal longings anticipated. But, in this magnificent work of multiplying artificial hands, and vitalizing latent motive-power, it is northern genius that has worked nearly alone—southern competition being almost dead. When it is mentioned, that about six thousand patents are taken out by the State of New York, to one hundred and twenty-five by South Carolina, the practicalities and possibilities of their two systems, in evolving the great scientific and mechanical needs of the epoch, require, perhaps, no further comparative elucidation. The same trenchant contrast is exhibited in the journalism, literature, and the whole material and æsthetical scope of the two regions. Nor can the argument be maintained, that climate forces the South to hug the dire falsehood, or that slave labor is alone practicable in Virginia, North Carolina, or in the cotton and sugar growing regions. White men can, and do work by hundreds of thousands the fields of the South, and the dishonor, placed on toil by the presence of the slave, taken away, free labor would extend, liberal rewards following earnest efforts. It is not denied that African labor best suits the rice-fields; but the war against Kansas—Kansas producing neither cotton, rice nor sugar, was universally upheld in the South, by sympathy, by money, or by men, and by her united legislation at Washington, proving thus, it is not fervid latitudes, and their products, which alone extend Slavery, but the rabid lust of power, which would gloat in seeing it in the corn-fields of Ohio, or circling Bunker Hill. If we acknowledge the necessity of the South extending the area of the cotton-growing regions, because, as her statesmen and publicists truly say, its culture exhausts the land, and ever requires new additions of territory, we simply affirm that national barbarism and suicide belong to the southern problems of Government: but that dark rule, coming of a total eclipse of the intellect, cannot be applied to the fields of the West; and only a spirit, having made a league with death, and a covenant with hell, could sow the wrath of the furies over vales and hills, primeval in loveliness, and maiden in liberty, in order that the discordance of the chain and the lash might be echoed back with the bay of the bloodhound.

The constant effort of the South has been to clutch more territory, and by an imperious, hectoring front, and threats of Disunion,

alarming nervous fools and cowards in the North, she has succeeded in covering the greater portion of the States with the shames of human bondage. By this means, she shows, with but half the white population of the North, an area of 851,508 square miles, to 612,597 of the latter region. According to the census of 1850, there were 13,464,586 people in the northern States, and but 6,184,477 whites in the southern, or, the colored population added, 9,612,909 inhabitants.

With all her splendid, natural superiorities, with the vantage of time and political ascendancy in the national Government, the South is deplorably and desperately in the rear of the North, as proved by the plain, irreversible facts and figures contained in the census of 1850. The excess of the wealth of Free over Slave States in that balance-sheet of the united people, including, even as it does, slaves as property, is more than eleven hundred million dollars; but not considering them property, and excluding their valuation of sixteen hundred millions, as accuracy and humanity alike demand, the wealth of the North exceeds that of the South, by the census in question, to the amount of over TWENTY-SEVEN HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS.



## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE RE-OPENING OF THE SLAVE-TRADE WITH AFRICA.

THE extension of Slavery into new States and Territories, and the yearning for the addition of yet more, including Cuba—which, according to the Ostend Manifesto of Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé, should be seized, if Spain will not sell—carries with it a sleepless effort to reopen the slave-trade legalized with Africa; rendering thus the whole Union responsible for the chronic wars of the African tribes, wars begun solely for the purpose of making and enslaving the prisoners, and conducted upon rules of pristine savagery with an exterminatory spirit, and having their sequences in the forced marches of the captives to the coast, the whole line marked by the bones of

those who expire by the way under fatigue, famine or violence, and the agonies of the survivors crowned by the proverbial horrors of the middle passage. To the conflict of interests between the northern tier of slave-breeding States and the southern tier of slave-working States, is due the fact that the statutes against this slave-trade have not already been repealed, for the aggressions of the South and the subserviency of the North, in all points where the former has been absolutely united, have proved that there is no moral principle on the part of the present northern Democracy as a party, which would prevent their acquiescence in such a measure. That the democratic city of New York has been constantly the head-quarters of the surreptitious slave-trade, carried on through the connivance of democratic office-holders, establishes this assertion. The ethical sentiment of the community has been seared by familiarity with the details of fitting out slavers for Africa, by the landing of their victims in the South, and kindred narrations; but never yet has it been quickened by a conviction and punishment with death of any one of the thousands of pirates and murderers who pursue the traffic unchecked as though it were a legitimate business. During the last ten years full twenty cases have been tried in New York; and in one only, that of Captain Smith, of the slaver *Julia*, was there a capital conviction; but a new trial was granted, the prisoner's plea of voluntarily serving on board taken, and he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. In some cases, the pirates against whom evidence was sufficient, undoubtedly, to convict, have escaped from Eldridge street jail before trial. As the marshal's officers have been proved guilty of bribery and corruption, such escapes look suspicious, to speak mildly.

In the recently-made confession of the pirate Hicks, executed under the federal law at New York, on the 13th of July, for the murder of Captain Burr, of the schooner *Johnson*, he relates that in one of his slave-voyages, the slaver was chased by an armed vessel, and in order to destroy the evidence of the presence of the captives, they were all tied to the cable and the anchor let go, which carried them overboard, and they were thus murdered.

It has been computed that for ten years past from twenty to thirty slavers a year have been fitted out at the port of New York alone,

and thus the Democratic party has been instrumental in founding and sustaining a school for pirates, capable of deeds like this cited, and of producing such colossal criminals as Hicks, who confessed to have been concerned in the commission of not less than one hundred murders. Those who sustain or fail to oppose Slavery and its inevitable accompaniments, the slave-trade with Africa, are rearing a legion of Thugs in the midst of our civilization, and causing murder to be a profession. The impunity of the slave-traders has recently led to a hideous increase of the outfit of slavers from the port of New York. The *Leader*, edited by Mr. Clancy, a well-known Democrat, on the 26th May, said: "We believe we do not overstate the matter in announcing that an average of two vessels each week clear out of our harbor bound for Africa and a human cargo." If this statement be correct, which it probably is, New York is now contributing at the rate of one hundred vessels a year to the slave-trade.

The Hon. John McKeon, late United States District Attorney for New York, in whose praise be it said, one of the few government officials who would not prostitute his office to the slave oligarchy, told the author that the difficulty up to almost impossibility of obtaining evidence in regard to the fitting out of slavers, was the complicity of the lower officials. Of this, the recent arrest of two deputy marshals, Henry Munn and Theodore Rynders, the latter a relative of the marshal himself, for being bribed to connive at the escape of the slaver, *The Storm King*, affords ample proof. The operations of the marshal's officers with the slave-traders are thus described in *The New York Leader*, above-mentioned:

"We have received information, which we shall verify and publish as soon as possible, to the effect that the price for the clearance of a slaver is as well known to those in the trade as the price of a barrel of pork. It is said that a certain amount of gold is placed in a locker in the cabin; the officers board the ship and commence a search for materials arguing the intention of the vessel to carry slaves. They search all the lockers especially, and suddenly find the particular one in which the gold—commonly ranging from \$2,500 to \$4,000, according to the size of the vessel—is concealed. This, the inference being that it is at least part of a sum designed to purchase negroes from the King of Dahomey, the officers proceed to confiscate; but failing to find any other evidence of a slave-trading purpose on board, they merely remove the treasure and offer no further resistance to the departure of the ship. This was the course said to have been followed by the Deputy U. S. Marshals, who have been dismissed, but of course none of those still retained could possibly be suspected of pursuing a like course. Let us hope that Marshal Isaiah Rynders, now that his eyes have been opened, will be more active and energetic in seeing that his subordinates more faithfully discharge their duties."

Marshal Rynders himself, whose duty it is to arrest the men so implicated in the slave-trade, is represented in the reports of the Charleston Democratic Presidential Convention, of May 1, as almost or quite echoing the sentiments of Mr. Gaulden, a delegate from Georgia, who made a speech in favor of immediately legalizing the slave-trade with Africa. Mr. Gaulden, in the course of his remarks, said:

"Now, fellow-democrats, so far as any public expression of opinion of the State of Virginia—the great slave-trading State of Virginia—has been given, they are all opposed to the African slave-trade."

"Dr. REED, of Indiana.—I am from Indiana, and I am in favor of it."

"Mr. GAULDEN.—Now, gentlemen, we are told, upon, high authority, that there is a certain class of men who strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. Now,

Virginia, which authorizes the buying of Christian men, separating them from their wives and children, from all the relations and associations amid whom they have lived for years, rolls up her eyes in holy horror when I would go to Africa, buy a savage, and introduce him to the blessings of civilization and Christianity." (Cheers and laughter.)

"Mr. RYNDERS, of N. Y.—You can get one or two recruits from New York to join you."

It is clear, that there is no hope, except in the success of the Republican party, for the suppression of the African slave-trade, as now carried on; for every man in office, from Mr. Buchanan down to a tide-waiter, openly avers that Slavery is right, just, and proper, and exists in the Territories by virtue of the Constitution; and the chief magistrate, moreover, on his accession to office, stated that the annexation of Cuba was the object dearest his heart; and to indurate this universal sanction to Slavery in civil functions, it appears that the little squadron on the coast of Africa is almost useless from two causes: its inefficiency, first, the vessels being mostly old sailing-ships and unable to catch slavers if they tried; and second, the apparent want of disposition on the part of Southern naval officers to suppress a trade which so many of them must approve; to this may be added the difficulties thrown in the way of the the best-disposed naval officers of Great Britain, by the rigid construction of the laws regarding the right of search, interpreted by our Pro-Slavery Government, the entire slave trade on the coast of Africa being now carried on under the American flag. A letter in *The New York Times*, March 2, dated, "United States Ship Portsmouth, St. Paul de Loando, Tuesday, December 20, 1859," gives a full account of "the alarming increase and rapid growth of the slave-trade," and shows that it is all carried on under the American flag. Some extracts from this correspondence. Speaking of the treaty between Great Britain and the United States, it says:

"In the making of a treaty of this kind, it is to be supposed that it meant something more than a dead letter; yet it seems, from the loose and indeterminate nature of the instructions given to our naval officers, and the facility with which vessels are cleared in the United States, even if captured, that on the part of the United States it has been almost virtually inoperative to the suppression of the trade, beyond the mere presence of two or three ships, occasionally, at a few points along the coast. Things have gone on this way for years. The trade has increased beyond measure; our flag has been subject to continual annoyance and surveillance from British cruisers, because our ships have not been near to attend to their duty, to fulfill their obligations, to board and examine American ships, to take their own prizes, and to keep in check the overbearing spirit of English officers. Consequently, everything is in confusion; there are no united, harmonious, cooperative efforts made to suppress the trade, and our national reputation has suffered lamentably in the eyes of England.

"The few months' experience we have had on the coast has not altogether been thrown away. It has thoroughly convinced us that the whole slave coast is, we may say, lined with slavers, who are generally from New York, cleared from the Custom-House, bringing all the appliances of the trade with them, and maneuvering about on the coast, under various pretences and disguises of legal traffic; particularly under that most specious blind—the obtaining palm-oil—until the favorable moment having arrived, the cargo is shipped, and a few hours finds them out of danger, on the way to the West Indies."

The writer then proceeds to prove that the palm-oil trade, the name of which is abused by slavers, is nearly all a lie. He cites also awful cases of suffering in slavers, and earnestly implores reforms.

Very recently several slavers have been captured, and their cargoes of slaves taken to Key West, where nearly two thousand slaves were congregated in barracks, under the care of the United States marshal of Florida. According to law, the Government is bound to liberate and send back to Africa slaves so captured. Southern, and even northern Democratic journals have protested against such rendition, and called loudly for an apprenticeship law, by which all blacks so brought shall be kept here. This is a new phase of slaveholding pretension. In these cases the slave-pirates have been set at liberty, of course, by southern judges; and, moreover, extraordinary delay, on the part of the Government, in sending back the captives to Africa, has resulted, according to official statements, in the death of about two hundred of them; but accord-

ing to surmise, in the burial of two hundred empty coffins, and the conveyance to southern plantations of the living men. The decisions of southern federal courts in African slave-trade cases, read more like the pleas of the pirates' counsel than juridical statements. For example: in the recent case of the United States against H. M. Gould and others, tried before Judge Jones at Mobile in the United States Circuit Court, involving the question of the purchaser's right to property in negroes illegally brought from Africa and sold there—part of The Wanderer's cargo probably—the court decided that slaves were, by the Constitution, property, like any other property; that “so long as unbroken merchandise arrives in unbroken bulk, the federal jurisdiction extends over it; but so soon as the cargo is broken, and the merchandise dispersed, among several purchasers, it can only be reached by process of the State courts. Hence, whatever laws Congress may enact against the original importer of African slaves, they cannot be made to apply to the purchaser, who acquired the property within the limits and by the laws of the individual State.”

The atrocious phraseology of this decision only matches its essence. It will be seen that the moment a ship-load of slaves is landed, it is only necessary to distribute them among two or more thieves, thus breaking the cargo of merchandise, and the case ceases to be one over which a federal court has jurisdiction. What southern State courts would do to suppress Slavery may be readily imagined. When we conjoin with this decision the impunity of slavers fitted out from New York, and their freedom from molestation by the squadron on the coast of Africa, we have the three essentials for the slave-trade between Africa and the United States. We will not touch on that of Cuba, except to mention that the cruelties of the sugar plantations, said to use up slaves in seven years, require a corresponding supply from Africa: this reaches, according to a debate in the British House of Commons in June last, from 30,000 to 40,000 annually. The Cuba trade affords, it is said, a retail business with the southern States; the fishermen carrying fish to Cuba bringing return cargoes of two or three slaves in their smacks.

The sentiment of the southern, as well as the northern Democracy, is divided for this reason: the extreme southern States want to import negroes from Africa at a hundred dollars each; Virginia and Maryland want to manufacture them at a thousand dollars each. It is with the party an economical question. In the Charleston Presidential Convention of May, Mr. Gaulden delivered, as has been mentioned, with acceptance and applause, a fervid speech in favor of legalizing this trade; and at the adjourned Convention at Baltimore he uttered similar remarks. Although there never has been at any time a question so awful in its aspects, physical, moral and political, as deluging one continent in blood that another may blast the bosom of the virgin earth with unnumbered slaves, yet the Democracy of the North looks indifferently upon it, and permits its masters in the South to gibbet liberty and make it a stench in the nostrils of the world. It must be borne in mind, in reference to the foreign slave-trade, that the savages of Africa are debarred from civilization and held in a perpetual warfare among themselves, to make prisoners to supply the slave-traders; that several are killed for every slave taken in these wars; that many die on the road to the barracoon; that when placed aboard ship, they are stowed in the least compass, and so closely that a large proportion, from a fifth to a half, die in agony on the passage; that sometimes all are destroyed to escape capture; and that the lot of those who survive, to be delivered to Cuban or American sugar plantations, is probably to be worked to death in a few years.

## CHAPTER XX.

## ACTUAL WHITE SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH.

It may be laid down as a proposition, that any person who, through the force of education and habit, has had the moral sense so petrified, as to approve of Slavery and become the holder of black slaves, will not hesitate to hold them of all shades, up to pure white included, when his supposed interest and his pride may be subserved. If the South have not yet put in their Democratic Platforms the brazen statements of their journals and politicians, that "Slavery is the proper condition of the laboring man, white or black." it is out of deference to their Northern allies, the Democratic office-holders, who fear to be equally candid with their dupes, or the unlettered portion of their partisans.

The law which makes the child follow the condition of the mother, makes all the children of slave-mothers, slaves, whether their fathers be white or black paramours. Concupiscence, on the part of white men with slave-women, is common in the South; quadroon slave-girls are allowed even to acquire certain little accomplishments, so that they may fetch high prices as mistresses to Southern bashaws. The mixing of bloods has resulted in the rearing of a new race; and the bleaching process is going on so rapidly, that soon the claim to enslave white freemen will be justified by pointing to the fact of a million white slaves—so white, at least, "as to pass themselves off as such"—as the language of advertisements of run-away slaves now describe them. Peculiar circumstances, such as these advertisements, or judicial records, generally bring this new phase of Slavery before the Northern public. For want of space, only a few cases can be here cited—but they may be received as specimens of many thousands similar in the journals, which any one can gather up:

"The Galveston (Texas) News, January 19, gives an account of a man named Suarez, who passed himself for a white freeman; being suspected of having one-eighth black blood, he was sold by the sheriff to the highest bidder, for six months. This is according to Texas law. The man was arrested for the crime of entering Texas, and supporting himself there; and by Judge Griffiths, after an examination by Doctors Friedman and Banks, was ordered to be sold as above; the law being, that after the first six months' sale, if the culprit does not leave the State, he must again be arrested, and sold for five years."

It may be remarked of the frequent kidnapping, especially in Illinois, and the reduction of Free people to Slavery, that there is very little probability of any one so sold for a period, white or black, escaping the condition of permanent Slavery. Here is a piece of Southern testimony, by a correspondent of The Wheeling (Virginia) Intelligencer, which occurred last January; the writer, it will be observed, exhibits no surprise at the dénouement—horrible though it is—that poetical loveliness, beautiful as a dream, fair as eve—should be in the hands of a slave-dealer, bought in Maryland, to be taken to the New Orleans market:



"On my way hither from Washington, not long since, travelling by the Orange and Alexandria railroad, I went forward to the smoking car for the purpose of enjoying the fumes of my fragrant Havana. I there found a negro-trader, with half a dozen sons and daughters of the descendants of Ham, whom he had purchased in the State of Maryland, and was on his way with them to the New Orleans market. I was particularly struck by the beauty of a white girl, about seventeen years of age, whom I was surprised to see sitting beside the negroes; but I concluded that she must be the young and handsome daughter of the trader. I sat myself down beside the stove, smoking my cigar, and took a position where I could see and admire the mingled white and rosy, transparent complexion, and the finely chiselled features of the young girl, with her lips like two rosebuds, her eyes liquid in their brightness, and her auburn tresses, that Love himself might delight to nestle in. I had actually begun, almost, to think about poetry, and love, and Peria, and stars, and connect them with the fair being before me, when all at once a coarse negro laugh broke out from beneath those pearly teeth, and those rose-bud lips—called forth by some remark made to her by the swarthy black at her side. That laugh and that voice of hers alone betrayed the negro descent—for a negro she was, and a slave, too. The trader told me he had paid twelve hundred dollars for her, up in Maryland, to a man whose wife had become jealous of her. And he was taking her, with a lot of blacker ones, to sell again in New Orleans."—N. Y. (Sunday) Courier, Jan. 29, 1860.

The Petersburg Virginia Express, Feb. 1, has the account of a slave who had been North, and returned South, with this curious phraseology: "The negro was regarded as a white man at the Pittsburg Hotel. He was purchased by 'Mr. Cross from his owner, Wm. Burwell, Esq.'" Bob further says, "that ever since he left Lynchburg he has passed for a white man, and has never associated with persons of his own race."

A child, named Sally Driggs, with only one-sixteenth African blood, her father a prominent physician, of Port Tobacco, Md., her mother an octoroon slave, and perfectly white to all appearance, was redeemed from Slavery in February, by the members of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. The mother and several other children had all been sold by the owner. The owners of this one were a firm of slave-traders. A party sought to buy the child before it was redeemed, to keep it to grow for a brood-slave; to raise the finer cattle on two legs, out of it; such being the democratic custom South.

The St. Louis Democrat, of Feb. 1, says, that among a party of 47 slaves, recently sent down the river, was a beautiful young girl of 13, nearly white, with straight hair, blooming complexion, and her bearing and appearance gentle and attractive. She is the daughter of a Missouri River merchant, whose well-known intention was to emancipate her; but he died, and the executors thought it would not do to bring her up with her free white sister, the merchant's other daughter, and so sold her South.

"Lot No. 5," so described in the catalogue of an auction sale of slaves, at Montgomery, Feb. 6, represented by an eye-witness, as "Bob, a boy about 16, 'so nearly white, that only an experienced person could detect any negro blood. I had not the slightest suspicions he was a slave. He was knocked down at \$1,050."

The Virginia papers give an account of a white man, married to a white woman, and the father of white children, a citizen and voter, in that State, who was discovered to be black, and tied with ropes, and taken away by his master; also, a very facetious history of a handsome, well-dressed, intelligent white slave, taken to New Orleans, who, meeting a trader on the lookout for slaves on the levee, as the vessel had just landed, pointed out the white dealer on board as a superior boy, whose weakness was to pass himself off for white; the trader was willing to humor such weakness, paid \$800 for him on the spot to the white slave, who immediately absconded, and betook himself to a vessel bound to Europe, and escaped. The trader had much difficulty to prove himself free.

These cases are taken from a very few newspapers, in a single month. A search through the press generally, for an extended period, of course, multiplies them in the same proportion, and proves that if white Slavery be not as common yet as black, it is because "the era" has not yet arrived when the general process of bleaching has been perfected. Of the effects of such intercourse, in carrying shame and sorrow to the hearts of noble-minded southern wives and ladies, there is ample proof in their own statements.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## THE NUMBER OF SLAVES AT VARIOUS PERIODS.

THE following table shows, according to the census, the number of slaves in the different States, from 1790 to 1850. No slaves were returned for Minnesota, New Mexico and Oregon. The number in New Jersey applies to apprentices by the State act, to abolish slaves, of 1846. In ten years the number of slaves has vastly increased. From 1840 to 1850, the increase on 2,487,355 was 716,958, or more than one-third. By the same law of augmentation, the slaves would now reach over four million :

States.	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.
Maine,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Hampshire,	153	8	0	0	0	1	0
Vermont,	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
Massachusetts,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rhode Island,	952	881	108	48	17	5	0
Connecticut,	2,759	951	810	97	25	17	0
New York,	21,324	20,343	15,017	10,038	75	4	0
New Jersey,	11,428	12,422	10,851	7,657	2,254	674	286
Pennsylvania,	8,787	1,706	795	211	408	64	0
Delaware,	8,887	6,156	4,177	4,509	3,292	2,605	2,290
Maryland,	103,086	105,635	111,502	107,898	102,294	89,787	90,368
Virginia,	203,427	345,796	392,518	425,158	469,757	448,987	472,528
North Carolina,	100,572	183,296	168,824	295,017	285,601	245,817	288,548
South Carolina,	107,094	146,151	196,865	258,475	315,401	327,083	384,964
Florida,	....	....	....	....	15,501	25,717	39,810
Georgia,	29,264	59,404	105,218	149,656	217,581	290,944	381,682
Alabama,	....	....	....	41,879	117,549	258,582	342,844
Mississippi,	....	3,489	17,088	32,814	65,659	195,211	309,878
Louisiana,	....	....	84,660	69,064	109,588	168,452	244,809
Texas,	....	....	....	....	....	....	58,161
Arkansas,	....	....	....	1,617	4,576	19,935	47,100
Tennessee,	3,417	18,584	44,535	80,107	141,608	183,059	239,459
Kentucky,	11,880	40,343	80,561	126,782	165,218	182,258	210,981
Ohio,	....	....	....	....	0	8	0
Michigan,	....	....	24	....	82	0	0
Indiana,	....	135	287	190	0	8	0
Illinois,	....	....	168	117	747	331	0
Missouri,	....	....	3,011	10,222	25,081	58,240	87,422
Wisconsin,	....	....	....	....	....	11	0
Iowa,	....	....	....	....	....	16	0
California,	....	....	....	....	....	....	0
Dist. of Columbia,	....	3,244	5,895	6,877	6,119	4,694	3,687
Total,	697,997	898,041	1,191,364	1,538,064	2,009,081	2,487,355	3,204,818

## CHAPTER XXII.

WHAT A SLAVE YEARLY COSTS HIS OWNER, AND WHAT A SLAVE  
YEARLY YIELDS HIS OWNER.

IN the United States Senate, on the 16th June, 1860, Mr. Hammond, of South Carolina, in the debate upon an appropriation for steamers for the African coast to suppress the slave-trade, said :

"I have experience enough to know that ten dollars a year is amply sufficient to support one negro."

The Philadelphia Bulletin, of May 12, 1860, has the following :

"The fugitive slave who honored the steamer S. R. Spaulding with his presence from Charleston to Boston, and who escaped from thence to Canada, is named Norris. He was a steam engineer, and was let out for \$60 a month [\$720 a year] to a Mr. William Burton, an extensive steamboat owner. He is owned by Charles Dixon, a son of the noted Dixon, of Mason and Dixon's line celebrity. Norris, though not the manager or captain of the boat, often acted in that capacity. His skill as an engineer was not surpassed by any with whom he was brought in competition. Norris has been sold nine times, and has therefore passed through an eventful life, the scenes of the last ten days of which are by no means the least notable. His wife and children [six in number] were sold several years ago to the South."

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## DESPOTISM, TERRORISM, AND MURDEROUS VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH.

THE author has extracted from the public journals of the past six months, accounts, sufficient to fill a large volume, of acts of despotism and terrorism in the South toward northern and southern men, expressing, or supposed to entertain, Republican principles, and of kindred murderous violence belonging to a society which upholds Slavery. In this limited work a mere allusion to these is only possible.

Wherever slavery exists, there freedom of speech and print must be suppressed. As a rule, too, under the system, the dominant class must go armed; and those who habitually carry deadly weapons, use them hastily, violently,

and frequently. Hence, society becomes effectively barbarous. Mr. C. M. Clay, of Kentucky, has maintained his position as the leading expounder of Republican doctrines in the South, through his personal influence, his courage, and his appearance at public meetings, surrounded by his adherents with rifles in their hands, ready to repel assault. Such is the South. No matter how profane, revolting, and awful the sentiments of any southern man coming North, and there openly and freely expressed, on the subject of slavery; no matter how insulting to the industry and position of free mechanics and laborers, there is no record of any personal assault or indignity committed on him. But, on the other hand, if a native of the North is merely suspected in the South of entertaining free principles, he is hunted like a wild beast, obliged to fly, at a moment's notice, from a farm he has been years in cultivating, or from business built up with the labor of a life, and constituting his sole support. Women as well as men are the victims of these habitual outrages. No such irresponsible despotism exists in any other country in the world; that of France, Austria, or Turkey, is decent in comparison; and such infernal brutality reigns over nearly two-thirds of the area of the Union.

To talk of free elections in such a country, is a falsehood too great for characterization in appropriate terms: hence Buchanan was not constitutionally elected, because discussion South was forbidden, without counting the democratic frauds and corruptions of the northern States, brought to light by the Congressional Investigating Committees, by whom he really was elected. The Post Office too, is entirely prostituted by the Government to the service of the plantation; any postmaster, in a southern State, has the privilege to rob the mail of any northern newspaper, called incendiary—The New York Tribune for example—and to hand over the intended recipient to the mercies of a mob.

Thirty-six persons, respectable farmers, artisans, and others, with their wives and little ones, neighbors all, were together driven out of Madison County, Kentucky, on the 23d of last December, for being suspected of holding northern views on Slavery.

James Crangle, an Irishman, was imprisoned at, and driven from Augusta, Georgia, by a first-society mob, through the instigation of persons upon whom he had a pecuniary claim: they had denounced him as an abolitionist.

James Power, an Irishman born, and a citizen, working as a stone-cutter on the new Capitol of Columbia, S. C., was, in December last, seized, imprisoned, taken out, and received in public 39 lashes on the bare back, and was tarred and feathered. During this he was menaced with death by armed men. He states, that several thousands were present. He was accused of abolition sentiments; he denies the charge. "A lover of truth," writing from Columbia, S. C., Jan. 10, attacks severely the moral character of Power; but the Charleston papers gave an account of the outrage as inflicted for abolition sentiments; and Power appeared in New York, and showed the author of this volume the bruises and scars from the whipping he received.

The Washington (Pa.) Tribune, of Feb. last, gives the following:

"A STRANGULATORY ARGUMENT.—Albertis Patterson, of Washington County, Pa., crossed the State line the other day. While in Harrington, Va., he was asked his political opinions. He replied that he was a Know Nothing, when his interrogators charged him with being a 'Black Republican or Abolitionist,' and asked him if he did not sympathize with John Brown. To this he answered, that he was a Republican, and as for John Brown, he 'believed that Governor Wise was just as big a fool as he was.' Upon making this declaration, he was violently seized by two men, named Seaton and Caldwell, a rope was procured, looped, and thrown round his neck, and the desperadoes immediately proceeded to strangle him, which they most unquestionably would have succeeded in doing, had it not been for the interference of two men, named Armstrong and Benner, who happened to be on the street at the time. When Patterson was rescued from his brutal assailants, his face was black from strangulation, and his neck bruised and discolored by the abrasion of the rope."

The Lynchburg Virginian, of February, says:

"We were shown on yesterday, a beautiful cane, gotten up by a gentleman of Bedford, to be presented to the Hon. H. A. Edmundson, as an appreciation of his conduct in 'switching' John Hickman, in the streets of Washington, the other day. The cane has a heavy silver head, upon which is engraved, 'To Hon. H. A. Edmundson, the man who whipped one of the eighteen million.'"

"The Memphis Argus of the 14th February, relates that a Northern passenger was plucked headlong from the cars when in motion, on the Tennessee Central Railroad, a few days before, for venturing to converse in condemnation of Slavery with the passengers, who seized him by the collar, then kicked him to the door, and off the platform. The Argus says: 'We did not learn that the rascal broke his neck by the fall; but if such was the case, the country hasn't experienced any very great loss.'"

Similar acts of violence were attempted last winter in Philadelphia, on the occasion of a lecture by Mr. Curtis, but checked by a large police force; the Southern medical students being prominently active. Judge Kelly, a distinguished citizen of Philadelphia, in a speech at a public meeting in that city, March 17, thus spoke of this affair:

"It is known to us that men in broadcloth, men from Walnut street, from Chestnut street, men who are proud of the quarters in which they live, some of whom have names honored in their ancestry, and, I was about to say, disgraced by the descendants of these ancestors (applause), have in our public streets, have in our large halls, have through the columns of the organ of James Buchanan, endeavored to stimulate, by felonious conspiracy, arson and murder, for the suppression of free speech in Philadelphia. (Applause.) Worse than stimulating arson and murder, they have sent their myrmidons into a hall in which four hundred women were gathered, and armed themselves with vitriol, to mar the beautiful faces of our sisters. Sir, but for the patriotic devotion of Alexander Henry, there would have been a chapter in the history of Philadelphia, before which the most frightful outrages of Kansas would have paled away. (A voice, 'that's so.') Aye, it is so, and known to all men. The contest this spring, my fellow-citizens, involves not the freedom of Kansas; it involves not alone the freedom of broad Territories. It involves the freedom of Pennsylvania. It involves our own safety and that of our country."

According to the Quincy (Illinois) Whig of February 28 last, Frederick Schaller, a German Democrat, a resident of Lagrange, Missouri, was falsely accused, with his brother and another person, named Mattis, by certain ruffians, of aiding in the escape of slaves. He thus describes it:

"Our hands were tied and we were driven in the hack about three miles on the Memphis road, where the hack stopped and I was taken out. To my question where they were taking me to, I got the answer that I was to be hanged. I asked them what for, and received as an answer, that I should tell them all about the nigger scrapes, about Vandoorn, etc. As I knew nothing about them, had never seen or heard of Mr. Vandoorn, I could not give the answer they wanted. They took me about a quarter of a mile into the woods and hanged me. I caught the tree, but by beating my hands with sticks, they compelled me to let go my hold. Soon I was senseless. When I came to again, I felt two persons, one on each side, whipping me with whips or cowhides. My hands were tied to the tree above my head, and I was entirely naked. The night was very cold, and soon my back was covered with a crust of frozen blood. I became weaker, and when they untied me, I fell to the ground. I heard one of them say, 'Now you can go, you son of a —!' When I put on my clothes again, I found my money (\$128 in gold) and watch gone. As I could not stand, I crawled as well as possible, to the house of my father-in-law, where Doctor Niemeyer treated me. My brother, whom they had released, told me that they must have abused me for more than an hour. I again say, that I am as innocent of the charge as a child, and have never aided in the escape of slaves. The American (Mattis) is still in Lagrange, sick from a similar treatment."

"FREDERICK SCHALLER."

The Philadelphia Bulletin, of March 16, has the following:

"On the night of the 2d inst., a free colored man, named John Brown, residing in one of the tenant houses of J. Williams Thorne, Sadsbury township, Lancaster county, Pa., was kidnapped. Pursuit was made, but the kidnappers escaped with their victim, in the direction of Maryland."

"The Pro-Slavery men lately broke up a school, taught by Robert Milliken, at Kirksville, Missouri. He was conceded to be a good teacher and personally unobjectionable, but was guilty of having a father who had incautiously expressed anti-slavery sentiments in a letter to a friend in New York!"

"The number of persons driven out of the South as *suspects* upon the negro question, since John Brown's affair, is over 200," says the Baltimore Patriot.

Mayor Wood, of New York, in a recent speech, defending Slavery and denying the right of free utterance to Northern men, and exposing the antagonism North and South, and the danger of Northern men travelling in Slave States without certificates as to their soundness on the Slavery question, incidentally stated, that not a day passed that he was not called upon to give passports, to enable the holders to travel in security! The name of the model Mayor is, of course, a passport through places where there is no law.

These are a few, taken at random, of the hundreds of cases which have been

published in the journals, as occurring within the last few months. They show a state of society depraved, cruel, and barbarous.

Owing to Slavery, the universal habit South, of going armed with six-shot pistols, or bowie-knives, results in desperate murders among the better and educated portions of society. From an account, in the Petersburg (Virginia) Express, of Feb. 29, 1860, of an affray in that neighborhood, between gentlemen of the highest social position, the following *naïf* extract is made. The scene is before a court—the question a divorce case.

“Mr. Witcher asked a question, which greatly exasperated the husband, Mr. Clemmens. He immediately arose, drawing a pistol at the same time, and fired at Mr. Witcher. Mr. Witcher, it seems, also quickly rose, and drew a pistol from his pocket, and as the ball of his antagonist grazed around the abdomen, he fired, striking Clemmens in the forehead, and killing him instantly. A nephew of Mr. Witcher, and a Mr. Smith, brother of Mrs. Clemmens, hearing the firing, rushed into the room. A brother of Mr. Clemmens, who had also been attracted by the pistol reports, fired at a nephew of Mr. Witcher, the ball taking effect, and producing, it is feared, a fatal wound. Upon seeing his nephew shot, Mr. Vincent Witcher again fired, striking Mr. Clemmens No. 2, and killing him instantly. At this stage of the sanguinary affair, Mr. Smith, a brother of Mrs. Clemmens, drew a bowie-knife, but had scarcely unsheathed the blade, when he was fired upon by a second brother of Clemmens, the ball taking effect in the shoulder, and producing a painful wound. Infuriated by his wound, Mr. Smith rushed upon his antagonist, and with one powerful thrust of the knife, completely disemboweled Clemmens No. 3, the unfortunate man falling dead on the spot. Three of the parties dead, and the other three all wounded, the horrible tragedy here ended.”

“Vincent Witcher, Esq.,” the venerable and talented, the chief actor in this “affair” is, we are informed by the journal, 75 years old, and well known as the former President of the Danville Railroad Company. He was proposed as a candidate for Governor of Virginia. All the parties are represented of the best social position; yet we find them all carrying pistols and bowie-knives like the border-ruffians. The cool mode of reporting this is inimitable. If pistols were pocket-handkerchiefs, and bowie-knives gloves, they could not be treated as more appropriate to carry into society, even before juridical sanctities.

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## CHAPTER XXIV.

### SLAVERY PREPONDERANCE IN CONGRESS, THE EXECUTIVE, AND THE SUPREME COURT.

EACH State being entitled to two senators, the Free States have thirty-two, but their white population, according to the census, was 13,280,670; but the fifteen Slave States, with 6,186,477 whites have thirty senators. The inequality in the House is as striking. The Free States have 144 members, the Slave States have 90: but the basis of representation is, for the Free States, one member for 91,935 of the white population; and in the slave, one member for 68,725; so that the slave oligarchy has thus a preponderance of thirty votes in the House. The South, accordingly, has governed the country through the Executive being Presidents born South, or northern men known to be devoted to the slaveholding interest; and the revenues of the country, now swelling toward one hundred millions, are dispensed for the slaveholding interest. No man whose

abstract opinions on the subject of Slavery are identical with those of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Henry, Pinckney, George Mason, Peyton Randolph, of the South; or Franklin, Jay, John Adams, Rufus King, Gouverneur Morris, of the North; is now allowed to hold any, the meanest, office under the federal Government: if he do exercise a freeman's right of opinion, he is called an abolitionist—the term most frequently qualified with an adjective not admitted in good society. During this century, there has been but one President from the Free States, not known as “sound on the question;” and he, J. Q. Adams, was elected at a time when there was no agitation on the subject of Slavery, on the calm following the Missouri Compromise. But this illustrious statesman and scholar only received two electoral votes south of the Potomac, and those from the (French) State of Louisiana. John Adams was opposed by the South, although he nominated, in the Continental Congress, George Washington, of Virginia, to be commander-in-chief of the armies, and supported Washington's administration; and during his own one term as President, appointed John Marshall, of Virginia, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and himself, during the Revolution, was considered, in council and debate, “the leading spirit of the Revolution.” Seven of the Presidents have been from Slave States; five of these served two terms; one, Polk of Tennessee, one term, and the other, Taylor of Louisiana, died not long after his election. Harrison, who was born in Virginia, and had, as governor of the Indian Territory, sought to suspend the Ordinance of 1787, and introduce Slavery into the West, also so died. The two Adamases were elected by northern votes, and permitted to serve one term only, and Van Buren was voted for South, as “a northern man with southern principle,” and Pierce and Buchanan for their blatant fidelity to the South, the last declaring even his personality gone and that he was resolved “into the Cincinnati Platform;” but none of these northern men with southern principles were ever allowed the dignity of two terms, and hence, through five southern Presidents have been chosen a second time, no northern man has received that distinction. Seventy-two years have elapsed since the inauguration of the first President; during forty-eight of these, southern men and slave-owners have been in the office. The preponderance of the minority South—the South, with one-half the population, and with one art, that of party-drill—in other federal functions is equally great with that of President. Besides its having, up to the time of Buchanan's election, eleven of the sixteen Presidents' terms, they had fourteen of nineteen attorney-generals, sixty-one of seventy-seven presiding officers of the Senate, twenty-one of thirty-three speakers of the House, eighty of one hundred and thirty-four foreign ministers; and, excepting speaker, all these offices are now in Pro-Slavery hands. The chief expenses of the Government are those of army and navy; and the departments have been carefully looked after by the South, as well as the premiership, the secretaryship of state. In the appointment of committees of the Senate and the House, the same oligarchic preponderance has been exhibited—Douglas, a large Mississippi slaveholder, by marriage, being Chairman of Territories, affording a sample how the hallowed inheritance of the Public Lands—free homes for free men—has been jockeyed with by those who declare that they loathe liberty—that the mechanics and laborers of the North are “the mud-sills of society,” as the democratic Senator Hammond characterizes them—that the capitalist should own the laborer, white or black.

The Supreme Court, too, which was once regarded as the ægis of liberty, has sunk to be politically a record of the majestically savage egoisms and edicts of the slave-oligarchy. It is most sad to speak of venerable silk gowns which fond patriotism would turn to as symbolizing the gentleman-like decency and elegance, the calm and clear authority, which should characterize a hall sacred to law, so different from tobacco-soiled, rowdy-haunted purlieus, where the votes of shoulder-hitters and slungshot gentry are considered with what should be deliberations of justice tempered with mercy. This court has sought to put out the moral eye of the universe; it has stricken down Freedom—it has

decided that the humblest man cannot petition, cannot appeal—that “the least of these” is voiceless among a people which sought to secure “the blessings of liberty” by its Constitution—that human nature is that of the beasts which perish, and that we are a nation of liars and robbers. Such is the Dred Scott decision, stripped of legal rhetoric, technical squirmings, and all the solemn amplifications of the debris of dead authority, based upon an age which hung, drew, and quartered, slit noses, chopped off hands, dug out eyes, killed the poor as nuisances, roasted martyrs, and interpreted this as the spirit of the meek and lowly Teacher. By the decisions of the State Courts, over and over again—by those of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Kentucky, as well as of Free States, it was determined that the slave taken out of the Slave State is legally free. By the decision of the United States Circuit Court, in the case of Jones against Vanzant—second McLean, U. S. Circuit Court Reports—this point is laid down:

“The Constitution treats slaves as persons. The view of Mr. Madison, who thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution that there could be property in man, seems to have been carried out in that most important instrument. Whether slaves are referred to in it as the basis of representation, as migrating or being imported, or as fugitives from labor, they are spoken of as persons.”

Dred Scott, accordingly, being taken out of a Slave State, into free Territory and a Free State, became free by American decisions, and by English during Colonial times, and by the higher law of the human heart; and by the Constitution, “no person”—and the law had decided he was a person—“shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,” and yet he was held in bondage, and the Supreme Court—most supreme should it be when the poor and oppressed ask justice at its hands—decided that the taint of original African blood forbid citizenship, and only a citizen could appeal to it for the right. Not satisfied with this, several of the judges meandered in their long-winded written opinions into the mazes of the philosophy of man-stealing, as to the right of the slave-dealer to take his victim into the northern States—to legalize Slavery on the soil of freemen.

These decisions of the Supreme Court naturally lead to an analysis of its character and constituents, and we thus find them. Although the North is superior in men and mind, the judicial districts give a majority to the South, five judges out of nine; and those from the Free States are chosen because of their devotion to Slavery. The venerable Judge McLean, appointed long since, before new heresies had soiled all departments of Government, is an exception.



## CHAPTER XXV.

### THE CHIEF ARGUMENT OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS UPSET: OR, EMANCIPATION SUCCESSFUL IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

THE emancipation question in the British West Indies demands a brief consideration here, although it might at first be considered as foreign to the discussions of the Republican party. The extension of human bondage into our Territories is claimed for Slavery on its



merits, and on the pretension that wherever it has been abolished on a large scale, the free laborers have relapsed to barbarism, and universal ruin to master and slave has ensued. Pro-slavery arguments are deemed incomplete without making this a prominent or chief point, garnished with innumerable misstatements. It was really only a moral question whether the few whites in the British West Indies should live off the labors of 760,000 slaves, or the latter should work for themselves and receive whatever they chose to earn: an economical phase of it is alone considered by the pro-slavery advocates, and that is always misrepresented. This economical question, however, may be treated to prove that the material gain of emancipation is consonant with the moral principle thereby asserted; or, in other words, that liberty and prosperity are inseparable.

Emancipation in the British West Indies has succeeded. If men of the lowest possible form of degradation could not be elevated in ten or twenty years to the condition of intelligent citizens, it would not be surprising—only logical and natural. But liberty works marvels. The testimony of travellers now is that the emancipation in question is a magnificent triumph: out of the purlieus of Kingston, and in the beautiful and productive country of Jamaica, the colored population are happy, contented, industrious, and prosperous. They own their own farms; raise fruits, vegetables, and grains for their own use, instead of sugar for masters. Their children fill the school-houses and churches. They have neither whips, chains, bloodhounds, nor bonfires of human flesh, nor any other of the "South-Side" pandemonium institutions. They make sugar, too, in such quantities as is appropriate to a civilized people of diversified agricultural pursuits: slaves worked to death in seven years have unfortunately made more sugar than the freemen of Jamaica now do. The crop of sugar in Jamaica fell off after emancipation, but it was decreasing before that event. The production from 1810 to 1820 was less than from 1800 to 1810 by more than 500,000 hogsheads, and the decline of sugar-estates did not begin with abolition. Beckford, a Pro-Slavery writer on Jamaica in 1790, which he left thirteen years before, says, "a great number of the estates were in the hands of the mortgagees in possession." The importation into British ports alone was, from 1841 to 1846, 14,629,550 cwt.; from 1847 to 1852, 17,918,362 cwt.; from 1853 to 1858, 18,443,331 cwt. The product had been decreasing fifty years, and had reached its lowest point; and since then, and during emancipation, here is shown an actual increase of 3,288,812 cwt. According to the returns made to the British Government, the exports of the British West India Islands to the United Kingdom, exclusive of Jamaica, were, in the last three years of Slavery, 7,405,849 cwt., and in the years 1855-6-7, 7,427,618 cwt., an actual increase of 21,769 cwt., and this does not include the large export to other countries. The exports from Jamaica, which were valued at 837,256 pounds in 1853, rose in 1856 to 1,003,325. The white man of Jamaica, who has now to work, instead of appropriating the labor of other people, is benefited morally and intellectually, as well as the emancipated slave. The emancipation question in the West Indies is settled in favor of liberty. On this point we have the evidence of intelligent correspondents of public journals, of *The New York Times* and *The Tribune*, who have travelled specially on the islands to investigate this subject and speak *ex cathedra* respecting it, and have earnestly, systematically, and truthfully investigated its details, and given the results of their researches to the world. There should, therefore, no longer be tirades, nonsense and falsehood, in and out of Congress, respecting the effect of emancipation in the islands. We cannot better close this chapter than by quoting from *The New York Times* of July 21, a leading article, summing up and annotating on the facts and deductions of its correspondent. The question is forever settled. The slave can be freed and prosper in the tropics. Argument against his emancipation, and for his chronic barbarism, falls to the ground.

"Considering how often the Pro-Slavery misrepresentations with regard to Jamaica

have been exposed; considering that every traveller who has penetrated into the interior of the island, and travelled through it, has testified to the enormous advances made by the negro population in civilization and comfort since 1820, it is very difficult, in dealing with these misrepresentations, to dismiss them with the good natured contempt which humane people usually bestow on mere fatuity.

"The evidence which shows that while a small clique of selfish aristocrats have been ruined by the overthrow of their tyranny, and by the incapacity entailed by their own vices, the masses in Jamaica have gained by it mentally, morally and materially; have risen from the rank of beasts of the field into that of useful citizens: that for one plantation which has been abandoned, a hundred small farms, supporting happy families, have sprung into existence; that all Jamaican negroes dependent on their daily labor are as willing to work for regular wages, as white men in the same circumstances; that negroes who have farms of their own to cultivate are no more blamable for not neglecting them in order to work on other people's farms for small wages, than Yankees or Englishmen; that the export of sugar and coffee has fallen off for the same reason that all New-Englanders are not shoemakers—because they prefer other employments to coffee and sugar raising; that Custom-house returns in the days of Slavery represented the results achieved by the labor of a whole population forced by the whip into one direction; that the Custom-house returns of to-day represent merely the surplus which remains after a civilized population, engaged as usual in a variety of occupations, have supplied their own wants, is overwhelming and unanimous. No stranger who extended his field of inquiry outside the large seaports has testified in any other sense. No Jamaicans, except those who have a direct interest in depreciating the condition of the island, either for the purpose of extracting assistance from the British Government, or excusing their own shortcomings, has ever attempted to contradict this statement. No complaint of want of labor has ever been heard from any one in Jamaica who was prepared to pay the market rate for it on Saturday night regularly. The Jamaican merchants are unanimous in their approval of emancipation in all respects. Nobody but planters, whom a long course of dependence on the unrequited labor of their fellows had demoralized, made shiftless, careless, lazy and improvident, as Slavery always makes the slaveholder, has ever made the least complaint of the negroes under freedom.

"The correspondent whose series of letters from the island is now appearing in *The Times*, has given this view of the case an elaborate and careful confirmation. We happen to know that they have received the emphatic approval of numbers of persons in this city who have been familiar with the workings of emancipation in Jamaica ever since it took place. And there is no American, who feels the smallest interest in the future of his own country, who must not feel gratified by the assurance which all these accounts convey, that there is a better issue to the 'slavery difficulty' in store, than a bloody social revolution—that negro slaves may, by honest patience and public spirit on the part of their owners, be at last converted into a thriving and industrious free peasantry."

Among the solutions of the problem of emancipation, is one urged by Senator Doolittle, of colonizing the slaves in the lower latitudes. The slave-oligarchs value their "property" in human flesh now at two thousand million dollars. The recommendation of Mr. Helper's book, *The Impending Crisis*, by members of Congress, Mr. Sherman included, prevented the election of the latter as Speaker, and stopped the business of the House of Representatives for many weeks during the last session;—this book, written by a North Carolinian, to expose to the poor white citizens of the South their pecuniary ruin and social degradation, owing to Slavery, estimates the loss of his native State alone, in the diminished or destroyed value of land, through Slavery, to be eleven hundred million dollars. Such estimates present incisively the losses of the South, and prove that emancipation would pay even for four million human beings, sold as beasts, many, many times over, in the immediately increased value given thereby to the land. But that the southern aristocracy do not want, and will not have, if they can help it.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

THE PUBLIC LANDS: THE REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS FOR FREE FARMS IN THE WEST, THE DEMOCRATS AGAINST THEM, AS SHOWN BY THEIR VOTES.

THE magnificent heritage of the people—the Territories—an expanse of the earth's surface greater than ever an Alexander or a Cæsar led armies to subdue, is now involved in the present political contest; whether they shall be enslaved or freed, is the question. To call such a struggle a "campaign," is hardly a misnomer. The public lands were estimated, when under discussion immediately after the Revolution, to amount to two hundred and twenty million acres; further additions of territory added more than twelve hundred million acres. The wish of the Republicans now is, that the land should be given to actual settlers; or, according to Mr. Grow's bill, any one who is twenty-one years old and the head of a family, may enter 160 acres of land, subject to preëmption, or upon which he may have a preëmption claim, and by cultivating the same for five years shall be entitled to a patent from the Government, on payment of the usual fees of the land office, and ten dollars, to cover the expense of surveying and mapping. Mr. Grow, in his speech before the House, Feb. 29, 1860, says:

"The land policy, as now conducted, permits the President, in his discretion, to expose to public sale, by proclamation, any or all of the public lands, after the same are surveyed. Every person settled on the lands so advertised for sale, must, before the day fixed in the proclamation of the President, pay for his lands, or they are liable to be sold to any bidder who offers \$1 25. or more, per acre. During the days of sale fixed by the President, any one can purchase, at \$1 25 per acre, as many acres of land, not before preëmpted, as he desires, selecting his own location. The lands that remain unsold at the expiration of the days of sale fixed by the President, are subject to private entry; that is, any person can enter at the land office any or all of the lands, that are at that time unsold, at \$1 25 per acre, if the same have not been offered for sale for more than ten years; if for a longer period, then at a less price, according to the length of time they may have been in the market. Thus, under the existing policy, there is no restraint on land monopoly. The Rothschilds, Barings, or any of the world's millionaires, may become the owners of untold acres of our public domain, to be resold to the settler or to be held as an investment for future speculation."

**MAN and LAND:** When the Man owns the Land he is free, when the Land owns the Man he is a slave. The oligarchs own the land South already, and are determined that their order shall alone rule; so they seek to exclude free men from free soil.

388,858,325 acres were, up to September 30, 1859, sold by Government for cash; and 241,777,052 were given away in grants to individuals, corporations, and States. Up to that period, 180,619,638 dollars and 90 cents were received for public lands; and expended, including purchase money, extension of Indian titles, surveying and managing, 91,944,013 dollars, leaving a net balance of 88,625,625 dollars 90 cents to the Government; with 136,970,941 acres sur-

vayed but unsold, of which 80,000,000 are subject to private entry. Mr. Grow estimates that only one half of that sold by the Government was to the actual cultivator; the rest being bought at second-hand, and at higher prices than those of the Government. Of that given away in grants the same must be said; so the original settlers, the working pioneers, have first and last paid for lands about SEVENTEEN HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS. The Republicans seek to remedy this by the means mentioned; and their desire is to have free farms for free men and not slave plantations for masters, with a mass of poor whites, hardly a remove above savages, such as are described by Southern politicians to exist in the South.

The votes on the Land Bill in Congress establish beyond denial the fact, that the Republicans, as a body, favor the land reform, and the Democrats oppose it. On the 20th January, 1859, Mr. Grow moved to amend a bill so as to produce a radical reform, that no "public land shall be exposed to sale by proclamation of the President, unless the same shall have been surveyed, and the return of such survey fixed in the Law Office, for ten years or more, before such sale;"—thus giving the preëmptors ten years' advantage of the monopolists; and by that time the settler would be able to buy the land. It was moved to refer the bill and amendment to the Committee of the Whole, or, in other words, to kill the amendment. The vote on this was: yeas, 90, nays, 92; all the Republicans, except six, Wood, of Maine; Burroughs, of New York; Morris and Ritchie, of Pennsylvania; and Harlan and Nichols, of Ohio. The House was thus brought to vote directly on Mr. Grow's amendment, and then the Republican vote was unanimous in its favor; and all the Southerners voted against it, except Stewart, of Maryland; Atkins, Avery, Jones and Savage, of Tennessee; and Jewett, Stevenson and Talbott, of Kentucky. Mr. Grow's amendment thus being a part of the bill, it was necessary to take vote again, which was done—91 yeas to 95 nays; so the amendment was lost. All the Republicans voted for this; all the Southern members against it, except the inflexible Republican, Blair, of Missouri; and Davis, of Baltimore—a city with but few slaves, and every day becoming more industrial, artistic, and northern in sentiment. Thus, it appears, that Stewart, Atkins, Avery, Jones, Savage, Jewett, Stevenson and Talbott, of the Southern States, were really against the amendment, though they voted for it, and voted finally against the bill with the amendment, an indirect way of killing it.

The subject was again before the House on the 1st of February, being a bill to secure homesteads to actual settlers. This was passed—yeas 120, nays 76. All the Southern members but three—Jones, of Tennessee; Jewett, of Kentucky; and Craig, of Missouri—voted against the bill; all the Republicans, except one—Nichols, of Ohio—voted for it. The Northern Democrats voted 29 for, and 6 against it. The Democratic party in the House was against it.

The Senate of course shirked this bill; see Congressional Globe, page 1074. On the 17th of February, Mr. Wade, of Ohio, moved to postpone all prior orders to take up the Homestead Bill passed in the House. Mr. Wade said: "The Homestead Bill, to which I am a good deal attached, has, I believe, twice passed the House and come to this body, but somehow it has had the go-by, and we have never had a direct vote upon it that I know of."

Mr. Wade said he did not desire debate but a vote. Mr. Reid, of N. Carolina, and Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, offered objections: too late in the session, said they. The question was then taken and carried; all the Republicans voting aye, and all the Southern senators voting nay, but Johnson of Tennessee. The Homestead Bill was accordingly before the Senate; and Mr. Hunter moved to set it aside for the Diplomatic and Consular Appropriation Bill; and pending some talk on this, the Vice-President decided that the Cuba Bill should be taken up, as the hour for its consideration—12 o'clock—had come. Mr. Wade moved to continue the consideration of the Homestead Bill—carried, 27 to 26. Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, having come in, acted in favor of the Homestead measure; Mr. Gwin, however, went back to the other side. Mr. Mason, of Virginia, said if the friends of the bill persisted, there must be "an extended

"debate," and characterized the bill as "most demoralizing." Mr. Wade and Mr. Seward spoke strenuously in its favor. Mr. Hunter's motion then was voted upon—28 to 28, a tie—and Mr. Breckinridge, the Vice-President, (a gentleman not indisposed to Northern votes at present,) voted for Mr. Hunter's motion for crushing the measure. Of the 28 votes for destroying it, all but 5 are from the South. Of 28 votes in favor of it, but three are from the South.

On the 19th February, Mr. Wade made another effort—voted down, 24 to 31. On the 25th, the motion of Mr. Doolittle, to take up the Homestead in preference to the Cuba Bill, was lost—35 to 24; Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, in the majority against Mr. Doolittle's effort. Mr. Doolittle, late at night, after the Cuba Bill had been long debated, sought to bring up the Homestead Bill again—lost, 19 to 29. Mr. Bell's vote is not recorded here. This little history will show that the oligarchs are utterly hostile to the interests of freemen in the West.

The Homestead Bill, as altered and extenuated in value by the Senate, was finally accepted by the Republicans of the House, in deference to the tens of thousands of people in Minnesota, Kansas, and elsewhere, who may be turned out of their log cabins from inability to pay one dollar and a quarter an acre. This bill for their relief passed the Senate without two adverse votes; in the House it had two to one. The first section of the bill confers the homestead rights on citizens if heads of families, who live on the land five years and then pay twenty-five cents an acre. The fifth does the same for persons who declare their intention to become citizens. This bill, not the one the Republicans wanted by any means, but the greatest concession to the claims of free labor that could be extorted from the Senate, Mr. Buchanan vetoed last June.

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## CHAPTER XXVII.

**CORRUPTION, SWINDLING, AND STEALING, AS PRACTISED BY THE SLAVE  
DEMOCRACY—INVESTIGATIONS OF THE COVODE COMMITTEE—COM-  
PLICITY OF PRESIDENT BUCHANAN IN THE PENNSYLVANIA ELECTION  
FRAUDS OF 1856.**

EVERY department of the Government is corrupt, under the necessary effect of the ultra slaveholding theory. All its functions, executive and sub-administrative, are directed to one great end—the spread and perpetuation of Slavery, and the supremacy of the few Slavery oligarchs, who, by tyranny, violence and murder in the slave regions, and the distribution of nearly \$80,000,000 of revenue to partisans, North and South, largely among ruffians and bullies, maintain their ascendancy. For this object, the President even has descended personally to corruption, whereby contracts were given in defiance of law to secure Democratic voters. Corruption in the so-called Democracy is the rule: with the Republicans it is the exception, and the difference is as wide as their principles regarding freedom. Any departure from honesty—witness the Legislature of New York—is visited with the heartiest maledictions of Republican

journals, speakers, and voters. Not so with the Democracy: if all the corrupt men among the office-holders were denounced and ostracized from their party, we would have to count them by hundreds and thousands. We witness defalcations such as Fowler's carried on in the New York post-office for years, either with the complicity of the department at Washington, or through negligence of that office, which, owing to its unequalled revenues, should be most closely looked after.

A full examination of the corruptions of the Government is impossible with our limited space. We can only touch upon some of them, and first in order let us take the Congressional Investigations of the Covode Committee during the late session. This committee was appointed under resolutions offered by the Hon. John Covode, and adopted by the House of Representatives on the 5th of March, 1860. They pursued their investigations in the face of difficulties, the chief of which lay in the non-appropriation of money for their expenses in procuring witnesses and testimony. Mr. Buchanan sent a written protest against the legality of such an investigation, but the Committee were not deterred thereby from their duty. After calling for many persons and papers, and making examinations under oath, the Majority Committee, composed of John Covode, A. B. Olin, and C. R. Train, on the 16th of June, made a voluminous report, of which the following is the substance :

#### THE MAJORITY REPORT.

It opens by stating the embarrassments under which the Committee labored ; it alludes to the President's Protest, and refers to the precedents set by Bacon's resolution of 1826 and Benton's report, from the same Committee, which were of a similar character to the present investigation. Similar action by Mr. Buchanan in 1828, Mr. Calhoun in 1835, Sam Houston in 1852, and Solon Borland in 1858, is also cited to prove that Investigating Committees of this kind are no new thing. With these precedents before them the Committee acted. On Lecompton they say they ascertained the following :

#### LECOMPTON INIQUITIES.

The Committee ascertained—

*First.* The emphatic and unmistakable pledges of the President, as well before as after his election, and the pledges of all his Cabinet, to the doctrine of leaving the people of Kansas "perfectly free to regulate their domestic institutions in their own way."

*Second.* The deliberate violation of this pledge, and attempt to convert Kansas into a Slave State by means of forgeries, frauds and crime.

*Third.* The removal of and the attempt to disgrace the sworn agents of the Administration who refused to violate this pledge.

*Fourth.* The open employment of money in the passage of the Lecompton and English bills through the Congress of the United States.

*Fifth.* The admission of the parties engaged in the work of electioneering those schemes, that they received enormous sums for this purpose, and the proof of the checks upon which they were paid by an agent in the Administration.

*Sixth.* The offer to purchase newspapers and newspaper editors by offers of extravagant sums of money.

*Seventh.* And finally, the proscription of Democrats of high standing who would not support the Lecompton and English bills.

Governor R. J. Walker's testimony is then reviewed, showing how Mr. Buchanan deceived him, and the report says : The impression, however, which will be made upon the country by Governor Walker's testimony, establishing as it does, most conclusively, the triple crime of the Administration in deserting first, a sacred principle, then faithful public servants, and finally in attempting by forgery, force and fraud, to make Kansas a slave State—strong and lasting as this impression must be, it will sink into insignificance before the astounding developments contained in the testimony respectively of Mr. Wendell, Mr. Bean and Mr. F. W. Walker. Fortunately for the cause of truth, the evidence of these witnesses does not depend upon their own admissions, however reluctantly or fully made.

#### LAVISH EXPENDITURE OF MONEY.

The appalling fact that money was lavishly expended to carry the Lecompton and English bills, is unanswerably proved by the books and other records of the Bank of the

Metropolis, at Washington, through which the parties conducted their business operations. With all the ingenuity of those parties to escape the responsibility of so degrading a position, the fact is proved by their unconscious contradictions of each other; and in at least one case, that of F. W. Walker, who has laid himself open to the grave charge of perjury, the House of Representatives took prompt action by expelling him from the reporters' gallery as an *attaché* of The New York Express, a decree which in itself is the best construction that could be placed upon the accusation that money was used to carry the Lecompton and English bills through the Congress of the United States.

The report takes up Cornelius Wendell's testimony, in which he swears to the vast amount of money spent in Lecompton, with the knowledge of the Administration. J. W. Forney's testimony is next taken up, to prove how the President tried to crush out or buy out the press. The evidence shows clearly that Mr. Forney was offered the printing of the Post Office blanks, worth at least \$80,000, as the condition that he should, by an editorial no longer than a man's hand, promise subserviency to the Administration on its Kansas policy.

Alexander Hay, who got \$20,000 from Wendell to spend on Lecompton, was subpoenaed by the Committee, but he fled and could not be caught. Of twenty-four Anti-Lecompton members of the House, the Committee state that twelve succumbed under the pressure of power and patronage.

Upon this Administration shall hereafter rest the awful responsibility of delaying the removal of the army from Kansas until the winter of 1857, which was the cause of the fearful loss and suffering occasioned by the inability of the army to reach Salt Lake.

The Report next speaks of recusant witnesses and goes on to treat of corruption at the Philadelphia Custom House, such as attempts by the Bakers to control primary elections, and to plunder the Federal Treasury by unjust claims. The Pennsylvanian was kept up by public plunder. The Detroit Post Office swindle is next exposed, and the enormous plunder by means of unjust charges for Executive binding of books, etc., is shown up, and the course of the Bakers is shown to be in utter contempt for law. The prosecution of G. W. Baker was prevented by the President, when Baker could have been proved guilty of gross malfeasance in office, and perjury.

#### THE PRESIDENT DESIRES TO CONTROL CHOICE OF DELEGATES TO CHARLESTON.

It appears by the letter of Mr. Vandyke to the President, dated 24th March, 1860, that the President desired Mr. Vandyke to permit Mr. Baker to control the choice of delegates to the Charleston Convention. The fact that these delegates had been chosen may have been and most probably was an all-powerful desideratum with Mr. Buchanan in taking the most effectual mode of preventing the prosecution of a friend whom he considered a controlling political influence in that delegation. It is now upward of three months since the fraud upon the revenue and these repeated perjuries have been brought to the knowledge of the Administration, and yet the guilty parties have not only gone unpunished, but are retained in office in charge of the revenue of the second post in importance of the United States.

#### COMMITTEE CENSURES THE PRESIDENT AND HOWELL COBB.

Your Committee submit that such conduct on the part of the Executive and the Secretary of the Treasury, is a subject for the highest censure.

#### IRREGULARITIES IN PHILADELPHIA NAVY YARD.

As a part of the same class of irregularities, your Committee call attention to the payment of salaries by the naval storekeeper in the Philadelphia Navy Yard, to Theophilus Fiske and Charles Cummings, neither of whom was at any time in the performance of any of the duties of their appointments, and to the case of Charles Clement, who signed the pay-roll, but did not receive any portion of his salary, leaving it in the hands of the naval storekeeper, John Cummings, for his own profit.

#### PUBLIC PRINTING.

The evidence herewith submitted, proves beyond a doubt that the prices paid for the Executive printing and for binding, have been utterly disproportionate to the work done. The excess beyond a fair price has been with the knowledge and consent, if not by the direct order of the President, squandered upon a profligate press, devoted to the interests of the Administration—upon The Pennsylvanian, The Argus, and The Union. It appears from the testimony of Mr. Wendell, that he contracted to do the printing of the Post Office blanks, agreeing to pay to Mr. Rice, of The Pennsylvanian, forty-three per cent. of the gross amount to be received for such printing.

## PRESIDENT EXPENDS MONEY UNDER FORMS OF LAW.

The testimony of Mr. Wendell is confirmed by the testimony of Mr. Joseph B. Baker. No one will doubt that it was one of the first duties of the President to inform Congress of this enormous waste of the public money, that the evil might be remedied by the necessary legislation. He seems, however, to have preferred that these moneys should have been expended under the forms of law in the support of his Administration, his friends and his retainers; and for this, in the opinion of your Committee, he deserves the censure of all honest men. It is to be hoped that this evil has been remedied by the legislation of the present session, and the Committee therefore refrain from any further remarks upon the subject.

## THE CORRUPTION FUND FOR PENNSYLVANIA.

The remainder of the Report is taken up with exposures of the way \$70,000 was raised and spent to carry Pennsylvania for Buchanan. It appears by the testimony of George Pitt that over \$70,000 was distributed by him as the Treasurer of the Democratic Central Committee of Pennsylvania in 1856, to carry that State for Buchanan; of this sum nearly \$20,000 was received from what is known as the New-York Hotel Fund, and \$10,000 from W. C. N. Swift, of New-Bedford, Mass., and was afterward repaid to him through the famous, as well as infamous live oak contracts. The remainder was derived from different sources, quite a large sum thereof being collected in the shape of assessments upon the employees of the Government in the offices at Washington, and the Custom House and Navy Yard at Philadelphia.

It is well known to the American people that tremendous frauds were perpetrated in the election of 1856, in Pennsylvania, by means of forged and fictitious naturalization papers. Your Committee have been enabled, just at the close of the investigation, to some degree, to trace these frauds. It will be seen by the testimony of Wm. Karnes, that these papers were first prepared and obtained in Philadelphia, some of them having the seal and the signature of a prothonotary deceased about the year 1850, and others with the forged seal and signatures, or genuine ones, obtained in some manner from the proper officers. These were distributed over the State by hundreds, and probably by thousands.

This Mr. William Karnes, of Reading, Pennsylvania, is a prominent democratic politician, and friend of Glancy Jones, the particular friend of Buchanan, rewarded with the mission to Austria upon his defeat as a Congressional candidate. Mr. Karnes having refused to answer the subpoena of the Committee at Washington, was apprehended by a special officer with a warrant, and taken thither. He testified most reluctantly, but so conclusively, on these frauds, that his evidence is worthy of reproduction.

Reuben F. Brown, mentioned in this testimony, is now in the Custom House at Philadelphia, with a salary of \$2,000.

Q. Did you reside in Reading in the Fall of 1856? A. I did.—Q. Did you, at that time, receive a quantity of blank naturalization papers from Philadelphia? A. Yes, sir, I received some blanks at that time.—Q. How did you receive them—by mail or express, or in what way? A. I think some few came to me by mail.—Q. Did they come to you under the frank of any person, and, if so, under whose? A. I think one or two came under the frank of Gov. Bigler, and some came under the frank of other persons, but am not positive who they were; Gov. Bigler's frank is the only one I am positive about; and I think there were, perhaps, three packages sent, and one of them, I know, was under the frank of Gov. Bigler.—Q. Were there large quantities of these papers sent to you? A. No, Sir; there were but few.—Q. How many did you get altogether, do you think? A. Well, I have said to persons that I had 300 to 400, but that is not so; I looked them over on Sunday last, and discovered that there were perhaps 200, or 280 altogether; some of them had what purported to be the seal of the Court and the signature of the prothonotary, others were mere blanks.—Q. Did you make application to Mr. Sallade for the use of his back office? A. No, sir; I did not.—Q. Who sent those papers to you from Philadelphia? A. They were either left at my house by Mr. Brown, or handed me in person by him, I am not positive which; I have been trying to recollect whether he gave them to me in person, or left them at my house; I think they were left by Mr. Brown at my house; at any rate, they came from Mr. Brown.—Q. Did you not receive a letter relative to the use he made of them? A. I did.—Q. From whom was that letter? A. There was no signature to it.—Q. Were there any initials to it? A. It was signed "R." at the bottom of the letter.—Q. Did you not know the handwriting of the letter? A. That letter I compared with another I had from Philadelphia, which was signed Brown.—Q. Reuben F. Brown? A. Yes, Sir



—Q. Did you know the handwriting of that letter? A. I thought the handwriting was the same as that signed Brown.—Q. Did you not know from other circumstances that the letter was from Mr. Brown? A. Yes, sir; I believe the letter was from Mr. Brown; I think he asked me afterward if I got the letter. . . . Q. We understand that this letter came with these papers? No, sir: I do not know that it came with them.—Q. In connection with them? A. A large bundle of papers, as I have stated before, was left at my house by Mr. Brown, or handed me in person by him; I am not positive that the letter came with the papers, but my impression is that it came by mail.—Q. That is the letter signed "R"? A. Yes, sir.—Q. And it was in reference to those papers? A. Yes, sir.—Q. What direction did he give you in reference to those papers? A. Am I obliged to answer that?—Q. The Committee have so decided. A. As I have stated, there were signatures, as they purported to be, of two different prothonotaries; some were signed "Vineyard" or "Vingard," I am not positive which; he was prothonotary in 1850, but is dead; this letter explained, I cannot recollect the letter exactly, though I read it last Sunday, that in filling up these papers they must be made to correspond with the date; I am not certain whether I got the impression from letter or conversation that these papers had been left over in the office and had been got out in some way.—Q. And when they were filled up, they were to be made to correspond with the time that prothonotary was alive, whose signature was attached? A. So as to correspond to 1850, the date of the signature; the others purporting to be signed by Fletcher, were signed in 1856, I suppose, but I do not know that.—Q. Where did it direct you to distribute them? A. It did not say.—Q. What else did the letter say about naturalization papers? A. Well, sir, it said that there were thousands of them being used or distributed, I do not remember which."

"How far the moneys of the Government contributed toward the commission of the crime," the Investigating Committee said, "they were unable to determine."

In the House of Representatives, on the 13th of June last, a series of resolutions was passed upon the charges of corruption and violation of law preferred against the President and Secretary of the Navy.

The first resolution, declaring that the Secretary of the Navy had, with the sanction of the President, abused his discretionary power in the selection of a coal-agent, and for the purchase of fuel for the Government.

The second resolution, that the contract made by the Secretary of the Navy in September, 1858, with W. C. N. Swift, for the delivery of live-oak timber, was in violation of law, in a manner unusual, improper, and injurious to the public service, was adopted by yeas 119, nays 60.

The third resolution, that the distribution by the Secretary of the Navy of the patronage of the Navy Yards among members of Congress, is destructive of discipline, corrupting in tendency, and highly injurious to the public service, was adopted, yeas 123, nays 61.

The fourth resolution, that the President and Secretary of the Navy, by receiving and considering the party relations of bidders for contracts with the United States, and the effect of awarding contracts upon pending elections, have set an example dangerous to the public safety, and deserving the reproach of this House, was adopted, yeas 106, nays 61.

In regard to this last resolution, the following piece of evidence shows the utter complicity of the President in acts of corruption. Two war-steamers were ordered to be built at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. When the question was under consideration for allotting the contract for the machinery of these vessels, which, by law, should be given to the lowest responsible bidder, the following letter, by a distinguished Philadelphia Democrat, was addressed "to the old public functionary."

"PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 13, 1858.

"DEAR SIR: I venture to suggest to you the importance of awarding the contracts for the machinery of the sloop, now building at the Navy Yard, at this time, and if it can be done without prejudice to the public service, to Merrick & Sons. There is the only establishment in the First District which employs a large number of mechanics; at this time, 890; when in full work, 450.

"The managing partners (Mr. M., sen., being absent, in bad health), are full of energy, straining every nerve to keep their force during this depression, and, in so far as I know, the only old Whigs of any influence in that district who are in favor of the reelection of Colonel Florence.

"I know, from former experience, the value of that influence, and feel persuaded that it is the interest of the Democratic party to increase it.

"The First District will, I hope, be carried in any event, but with that shop at work, full.

handed, two weeks prior to the election, the result would, I think, be placed beyond all doubt.

" *The President.*

"With much respect,

"W. C. PATTERSON."

This letter was sent to the Secretary of the Navy by the President with his indorsement :

"September 15, 1858.

"The inclosed letter from Colonel Patterson, of Philadelphia, is submitted to the attention of the Secretary of the Navy.

J. B."

The Secretary of the Navy, in compliance with this sweet hint, and in defiance of law, awarded the contract to Merrick & Sons over other responsible and lower bidders, and the votes of the "450" mechanics were secured for the President's nominee, Florence, who now represents the Philadelphia Navy Yard district in Congress.

The manner in which Buchanan secured Pennsylvania in 1856, was this: The "People's Party" were in a vast majority, many thousands, at the preceding State election. Before the State election of October, 1856, it was known that the People's Party would again be in the majority if there were no cheating. So, cheating was determined on. Large sums were contributed from New York and other places by merchants who sell their cloths and consciences together to the South; and one of the causes of complaint against Buchanan now by the friends of Douglas is, that Douglas not only gave way for Buchanan's nomination at Cincinnati in 1856, but out of his own pocket contributed \$40,000 to the election fund. By this means, and the levies made upon office-holders, and the expectants of fat contracts, like Swift, the State was carried by a trifling majority for the Democracy, and thus the *prestige* assured for the November election of President, there and in other States. As the result of the votes showed there was huge perjury and swindling, Mr. Mann, who was cheated out of his election as District-Attorney of Philadelphia, contested the matter before the appropriate tribunal, and decision was given in his favor, and the frauds revoked. But the perjurers and swindlers had achieved their purpose in representing Pennsylvania as Democratic at the State election of 1856; and with this vantage-ground, and the means of extemporizing votes through fraudulent naturalization papers, in any quantity, at the November election, the State was carried for Buchanan. But it was necessary also to deceive to any extent in another form: He was elected as in favor of "Free Kansas," so stated in the political placards and newspapers of Pennsylvania, seen by the author.



## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### THE WIDE-SPREAD DEPRAVITY AND CRIMINALITY OF DEMOCRATIC OFFICIALS.

THE life-long practice of ruffianism or criminality of any or every grade, does not debar the perpetrator from any political or social consideration which the slave-democracy have power to bestow. Never was party more corrupt, debased, criminal, and insensible to its infamy.

The Empire Club was considered preëminent, in securing Mr. Polk's election in 1844. Among its members were felons, and, at least, one murderer. Polk received them with distinction at the White House. These facts were brought before Congress. The captain, Rynders, holds the very responsible

position of marshal, whose business is to arrest United States criminals and slave pirates. The Mayor of New York, Fernando Wood, was recommended to office by merchants and bankers, who petitioned the legislature to allow masters to bring their slaves into New York, and here hold them, who organize "Union meetings," where Charles O'Connor, Esq., defends Slavery upon principle, and who pay black mail to a southern press, to be put in a "white list." Wood, not mentioning his official character, which split the party, was exposed by the Hon. John McKeon, ex-district attorney, and by the press, as convicted in a civil suit, under charges of "fraud, forgery, and falsification"—damages awarded against him, \$7,000. Mr. McKeon said, at the Cooper Institute Havemeyer Meeting, Dec. 3, 1859: "He is an all but convicted felon; he was indicted for false pretences, and escaped by money, to quash the indictment, on the ground that the indictment was one day too late in being found by the grand jury." Wood was received in Washington and Charleston with honor. The Charleston Courier, April 25, says:

"A large, and highly respectable number of our citizens assembled last evening, in front of the Mills House, with a band of music, to compliment the Mayor of New York with a serenade."

Mr. Wood was called out, and spoke, and Colonel Seymour, an eminent citizen, made a speech of welcome: "Sir," said he, "we feel honored, in having the opportunity to hear from you what we have so often read." He complimented Wood, and said, "If the convention would even now throw the mantle over the shoulders of Mr. Wood"—the mantle of the Presidency over Fernando Wood! Comment is superfluous.

In the New York city election, for December, 1859, there was a split in the Democratic party, a portion claiming to be the more respectable wing, supporting Havemeyer against Wood, who was successful. In order to show what is considered democratic respectability, there were eight candidates for aldermen on that ticket: of these, four, or one-half, were under indictments for various crimes. And, of the 24 candidates for councilmen, on the same ticket, one was under indictment for murder; two, for illegally disposing of the city's property, and several others were notorious ruffians, although not at the moment under indictment.

The grand juries of New York city perform a deal of useless labor in bringing in bills of indictment against such Democrats. We have city judges truckling to, and letting felons go free; ticket swindlers appointed to office; and as for official, murderous brawls, with arms, the fashion caught from the South, the number is too large for citation. The slave-democracy can show similar characteristics elsewhere. These narrations would fill many volumes: we can only hint at them here.

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## CHAPTER XXIX.

### LINCOLN AND HAMLIN.

TRACTS and journals have already made the Life of Lincoln so familiar, that a few words on it here may suffice. A century and a half since, his family resided in Berks County, Pennsylvania, and belonged to the mild and prudent Society of Friends. About that period, his great grandfather removed to Rockingham County, Vir-

ginia. There his father and himself were born. His grandfather went thence to Kentucky; and was, while clearing a farm, killed by Indians: his widow being left with five children. When he was twenty-one, his father and family emigrated to Illinois, and cleared a settlement for a farm. Young Lincoln then became a flatboatman down the Ohio and Mississippi; and next took charge of a store and mill. In 1832, he became a captain in the Black Hawk war. In 1834, he became, for the second time, a candidate for the Legislature, and succeeded in being elected. He was twice reelected—in 1836 and 1838. In 1834, he began the study of the law, and pursued it amid great pecuniary difficulties and privations, too poor to buy a candle to study by night. In 1842, he married Miss Todd, daughter of the Hon. R. S. Todd, of Kentucky. Mr. Lincoln was sent to Congress by an immense majority. When the Missouri Compromise was shattered, he held public discussions with Douglas, and showed himself as much intellectually as he is morally the superior of that person. A majority for the first time opposed to the Democratic Administration was elected to the Legislature. The anti-Nebraska Democrats would not join with the Whigs in that body. The latter nominated Mr. Lincoln as U. S. Senator—Mr. Trumbull, finally, at the magnanimous suggestion of Mr. Lincoln, was chosen. Mr. Lincoln was active in the preparations for the canvass of 1856, and his name was up before the Convention at Philadelphia, for Vice-President. He was chosen to answer Douglas in discussion in 1857. In 1858, the Republican State Convention unanimously nominated Mr. Lincoln for U. S. Senator, to succeed Douglas. Mr. Lincoln challenged his opponent to a discussion throughout the State; Mr. Douglas agreed to speak so at seven places, which was done. This discussion is reported in a large volume, and will give as good a sample of Mr. Lincoln's keen intellectual abilities as his friends could desire. So, too, will the masterly address he made this year at New York—a specimen of close reasoning and narration, original, too, and striking. After the discussion was over, Mr. Lincoln spoke more than fifty times in public during the canvass.

Mr. Hamlin was born in Oxford County, Maine, in 1809. He is a lawyer by profession. From 1836 to 1840, he was in the Legislature of Maine, and for three years was Speaker of its House. In 1843, he was elected to Congress, and reelected the next term. In 1847, he was again in the Legislature. In 1848, he was elected to the U. S. Senate, to fill a vacancy. In 1851, he was reelected for the full term, but resigned on being chosen Governor of Maine, in 1857. In the same month he was again elected to the U. S. Senate, resigning the Governorship. He is still in the Senate. Up to 1854, he acted with the Democratic party, and then quit it for its treachery. Mr. Hamlin, besides his Senatorial ability, is distinguished for executive talent.

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## CHAPTER XXX.

### POPULAR VOTE, FALSELY SO CALLED, FOR PRESIDENT IN 1856;

WITH THE NUMBER OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS IN EACH STATE IN 1860.

It will be observed, that in four Southern States, on the borders of the Free States, 1,122 votes were permitted to be cast for the Republican ticket, and those directly in contact with the free voters to protect them; except these, no free vote was allowed in the South at all; under the terrorism of the oligarchs, the election was for two tools of the slave-power, Buchanan and Fillmore, the latter receiving the vote of one whole State for threatening disunion if the Republicans succeeded, and for betraying the interests of free-labor.

States.	Fremont, Republican.	Buchanan, Democrat.	Fillmore, American.	Electors, 1860.
Alabama .....	.....	46,789	28,552	9
Arkansas .....	.....	21,910	10,787	4
California .....	20,691	58,865	36,165	4
Connecticut .....	42,715	84,995	2,615	6
Delaware .....	808	8,004	6,175	8
Florida .....	.....	6,853	4,838	8
Georgia .....	.....	56,581	42,439	10
Illinois .....	96,189	105,843	87,444	11
Indiana .....	94,875	118,670	22,886	13
Iowa .....	48,954	86,170	9,180	4
Kentucky .....	814	74,642	67,416	12
Louisiana .....	.....	22,164	20,709	6
Maine .....	67,199	39,080	3,825	8
Maryland .....	281	39,115	47,460	8
Massachusetts .....	108,190	39,240	19,626	13
Michigan .....	71,762	52,136	1,660	6
Minnesota .....	.....	.....	.....	4
Mississippi .....	.....	355,446	24,195	7
Missouri .....	.....	58,164	48,524	9
New Hampshire .....	88,845	82,789	422	5
New Jersey .....	23,888	46,943	2,415	7
New York .....	276,004	195,878	124,604	35
North Carolina .....	.....	48,246	36,886	10
Ohio .....	187,497	170,874	28,121	23
Oregon .....	.....	.....	.....	3
Pennsylvania .....	147,968	230,772	82,202	27
Rhode Island .....	11,467	6,680	1,675	4
South Carolina .....	Chosen	by the	Legislature.	8
Tennessee .....	.....	73,636	66,117	12
Texas .....	.....	81,163	15,639	4
Vermont .....	89,561	10,569	545	5
Virginia .....	291	89 7. 6	60,310	15
Wisconsin .....	66,090	52,848	580	5
Total .....	1,841,514	1,588,232	874,707	308

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### THE POLITICAL PLATFORMS OF 1860.

THE Convention at Chicago was an immense gathering of respectable people. At Baltimore, however, the Democracy was thus described by The Patriot:

"The scenes that have been enacted in our midst since Monday last—the daily scuffles and nightly brawls—the quarrels, dissensions, and fights—the drunkenness, gambling, profanity, and other disreputable conduct, which has been visible for the past week—must, we think, lead all men to rejoice that the end is near. The peace of the city has been disturbed only by those non-residents, who were sent here to produce harmony and peace. Men occupying high position, members of Congress, have been arrested for open breaches of the peace and public decorum. Street fights have occurred almost every day. Pistols have been exhibited, dirk-knives used, and in and around the drinking-shops and gam

bing rooms, excited knots of men, 'clubs,' have gathered in angry discussion, which has generally led to a knock-down and drag-out by the police, etc."

After thus seeing the parties, the reader will judge of the respective honesty of their platforms, which follow :

#### REPUBLICAN PLATFORM—ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, MAY, 1860.

*Resolved.* That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations :

*First.* That the history of the nation during the last forty years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now more than ever before demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

*Second.* That we solemnly reassert the self-evident truths, that all men are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are those of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that governments are intended among men to secure the enjoyments of these rights. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved.

*Third.* That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population; its surprising development of natural resources; its rapid augmentation of wealth; its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced a threat of disunion, so often made by Democratic members of Congress without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people strongly to rebuke and forever silence.

*Fourth.* That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the rights of each State, to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political faith depends, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

*Fifth.* That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as is especially evident in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas—in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons—in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and the Federal Courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest, and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

*Sixth.* That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the system of plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of fraud and corruption at the federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

*Seventh.* That the new dogma that the Constitution of its own force carries Slavery into any or all the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent, is revolutionary in its tendency and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

*Eighth.* That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished Slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States.

*Ninth.* That we brand the recent reopening of the African Slave-trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, a burning shame to our country and age, and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

*Tenth.* That in the recent vetoes by the federal governors of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting Slavery in those territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas and Nebraska bill, and a denunciation of the deception and fraud involved therein.

*Eleventh.* That Kansas should of right be admitted as a State, under the constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

*Twelfth.* That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imposts, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country, and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingman liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

*Thirteenth.* That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty, and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

*Fourteenth.* That the National Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to emigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

*Fifteenth.* The appropriation by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by an obligation of the Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

*Sixteenth.* That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and that as a preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

*Seventeenth.* Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the coöperation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmation and support.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PLATFORM—ADOPTED AT BALTIMORE, MAY, 1860.

*Whereas,* Experience has demonstrated that all platforms adopted by political parties have the effect to mislead and cause political divisions by encouraging geographical and sectional parties; therefore,

*Resolved,* That both patriotism and duty requires that they should recognize no policy or principles but those resting on the broad foundation of the Constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws (great applause, and six cheers); and that, as representatives of the Constitutional Union party and of the country, they pledge themselves to maintain, protect, and defend these principles, thus affording security at home and abroad, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and posterity.

Adopted by acclamation.

#### DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—ADOPTED BY THE MARYLAND INSTITUTE CONVENTION, AT BALTIMORE, JUNE 28, 1860.

ORIGINALLY ADOPTED BY THE SECEDERS AT CHARLESTON, APRIL 30, 1860.

*Resolved,* That the platform adopted by the Democratic party at Cincinnati, be affirmed, with the following explanatory resolutions:

1. That the government of a Territory organized by an act of Congress is provisional and temporary, and during its existence all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the Territory, without their rights, either of person or property, being destroyed or injured by Congressional or Territorial legislation.

2. That it is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to protect the rights of persons and property in the Territories, and wherever else its constitutional authority extends.

3. That when the settlers in a Territory having an adequate population, form a State Constitution, the right of sovereignty commences, and being consummated by their admission into the Union, they stand on an equality with the people of other States, and a State thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether the constitution prohibits or recognises the institution of Slavery.

*Resolved*, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain, at the earliest practicable moment.

*Resolved*, That the enactment of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the fugitive slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution and revolutionary in their effect.

*Resolved*, That the Democracy of the United States recognize it as the imperative duty of the Government to protect the naturalized citizen in all his rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native-born citizens.

*Whereas*, One of the greatest necessities of the age, in a political, commercial, postal, and military point of view, is a speedy connection between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the National Democratic party do hereby pledge themselves to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill, to the extent of their constitutional authority, by Congress, for the construction of a Pacific railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, at the earliest practical moment.

#### DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—ADOPTED AT CINCINNATI, JUNE, 6, 1856.

*Resolved*, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

*Resolved*, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as a great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

*Resolved*, Therefore, That entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through their delegates assembled in general convention, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people, the declaration of principles avowed by them, when, on former occasions, in general convention, they have presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

1. That the Federal Government is one of limited power, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of powers made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government, and it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful Constitutional powers.

2. That the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local and internal improvements, or other State purposes, nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and a complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence and foreign aggression.

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

6. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national object specified in the Constitution, and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy, and repugnant to the Constitution.

7. That Congress has no power to charter a National Bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of this country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and will of the people; and the results of the democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

8. That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable to the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

9. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities, amply sufficient to guard



the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical dominion of the bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

10. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the principles of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the Alien and Seditious laws from our statute books.

*And whereas*, Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in National Convention, an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively Americans, and it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define its relations thereto; and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called.

*Resolved*, That the foundation of the union of States having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion and preëminent example in free government, built upon entire freedom of matters of religious concernment, and no respect of persons in regard to rank, or place of birth, no party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birth-place. And hence, a political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholics and foreign-born, is neither justified by the past history or future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlightened freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

*Resolved*, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose the well-considered declarations of former Conventions upon the sectional issue of domestic Slavery, and concerning the reserved rights of the States:

1. That Congress has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that all such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of Slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing proposition covers and was intended to embrace the whole subject of Slavery agitation in Congress, and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise Measures, settled by the Congress of 1850; "the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor" included; which act being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the Slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

4. That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1792 and 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799—that it adopts these principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on Slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the people, North and South, to the Constitution and the Union.

1. *Resolved*, That claiming fellowship with and desiring the coöperation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue, and repudiating the sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic Slavery, which seek to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories, and whose avowed purpose, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion, the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the Slavery question, upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservation of the Union, and non-interference of Congress with Slavery in the Territories or in the District of Columbia.

2. That this was the basis of the compromises of 1850, confirmed by both the Demo-

cratic and Whig parties in National Conventions, ratified by the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of the Territories in 1854.

8. That by the uniform application of the Democratic principle to the organization of Territories, and the admission of new States with or without domestic Slavery, as they may elect, the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact, the original compact of the Constitution maintained inviolate, and the perpetuity and expansion of the Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed with a republican form of government.

*Resolved*, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of the majority of the actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it to form a constitution, with or without domestic Slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

*Resolved, finally*, That in view of the condition of the popular institutions in the Old world (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempt to enforce civil and religious disabilities against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship in our own land), a high and sacred duty is involved with increased responsibility upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the Union of the States—and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of a few at the expense of the many, and by vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution—which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be—in the full expression of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

1. *Resolved*, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country, which are inferior to no domestic question whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas, and progressive free trade throughout the world, and, by solemn manifestations to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

2. *Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other States of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine. Their bearing and import admit of no misconception, and should be applied with unbending rigidity.

3. *Resolved*, That the great highway, which nature as well as the assent of States most immediately interested in its maintenance has marked out for free communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times, in the unconquerable energy of our people; and that result would be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it, and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with relations that it may suit our policy to establish between our Government and the government of the States within whose dominions it lies; we can under no circumstances surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

4. *Resolved*, That in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the inter-oceanic isthmus.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will expect of the next Administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil, and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our western valleys and of the Union at large.

*Resolved*, That the Administration of Franklin Pierce has been true to Democratic principles, and, therefore, true to the great interests of the country; in the face of violent opposition he has maintained the laws at home, and vindicated the rights of American citizens abroad; and, therefore, we proclaim our unqualified admiration of his measures and policy.

**DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—ADOPTED BY THE FRONT STREET THEATER CONVENTION, AT BALTIMORE, JUNE 28, 1860.**

ORIGINALLY ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION AT CHARLESTON, APRIL 30, 1860.

*Resolved*, That we, the Democracy of the Union, in Convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmation of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same subject matter, and we recommend as our only further resolutions the following:

That inasmuch as difference of opinion exists in the Democratic party, as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial legislature, and as to the power and duties of Congress under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of Slavery within the Territories.

*Resolved*, That the Democratic party will abide by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States over the institution of Slavery within the Territories.

*Resolved*, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens at home and abroad, and whether native or foreign-born.

*Resolved*, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific States, and the Democratic party pledge the ~~(constitution)~~ enactment as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practical period.

*Resolved*, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

*Resolved*, That the enactments of State legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

On the last day of the session of the Douglas Democratic Convention at Baltimore, the following resolution was adopted and added to the platform.

*Resolved*, That it is in accordance with the interpretation of the Cincinnati platform that during the existence of the Territorial Government, the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution or the power of the Territorial legislature over the subject of the domestic relations (as the same has been, or shall hereafter be finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States) should be respected by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the General Government.

[For Cincinnati platform, which is annexed to this, see the Maryland Institute platform, preceding this.]

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS.

THE people of those States where liberty is not stifled by cowardly and brutal force, have it in their power to insure political reform, and save the grand expanse of territory, of over one thousand million acres in the West, from the wreck and shame of Slavery. This they can do constitutionally, without infringing upon Southern privileges; and by so restricting the evil, and saving further land from its devastations, they will lead the way to yet higher achievements. Other nations beckon us on: England, her House of Lords roused by the memorable logic and eloquence of a Brougham, struck the chains off all her slaves, and each rising and setting sun does homage to the majesty of the achievement, over the hills and vales of her happy islands. Russia, with twenty million serfs, is, at the fiat of her best Emperor, about to touch them with the Ithuriel spear of emancipation, so that their moral nature may reach the skies. Shall we, then, with such glorious examples of the good, the generous, and the right, retract, absolve ourselves from our gallant past, cut off our brilliant future, and be stifled in essential barbarism? In this epoch, when science flies on the wings of love, can we sanction the worship of hate and cruelty? This, and not less than this, is contained in the solution of the great questions before us. We have either to succumb to, or to triumph over, the slave-power. There is no middle course. We must either have the black flag of Slavery, or one scintillating with freedom, to symbolize our home and country. Our irreversible word, then, should be for Liberty—circling our lakes and seas; traversing our mountains and prairies; covering our cities and villages; going forth in many ships over many waters: liberty for the poor, the exiled, and the oppressed; liberty of sense and soul, of thought and speech, of aspiration and action.











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